175 The Peace of Riga (May 18th, 1921) between Poland and
728 Russia allocated to the former Volynia, Polesva and the district of Kholm, formerly parts of the Russian Empire, while the Ambassadors' Council on March 14th, 1923 added Galicia to Poland's gains. In the Treaty of Riga both partners promised to respect the rights of their minorities while the Ambassadors' Council declared that Poland was to issue laws that would preserve Ukrainian rights and that this was why the Entente Powers relegated their supreme authority to Poland. In reality, throughout the period of Polish supremacy there was little or no attempt to satisfy Ukrainian claims. The Ukrainian Chairs, established at Lviv University by Austria, ceased to exist and the law providing for a Ukrainian university was never implemented. Ukrainian schools were slowly but surely replaced by others where Polish was used either in some or in all classes. Polish became the language of instruction in secondary and vocational schools. The Ukrainian language was not recognised legally either in the administration or in law courts and Ukrainian influence declined in all selfgovernment organisations. Poles colonised Ukrainian areas. A campaign of public opposition was opened against the Ukrainian church: hundreds of churches were shut, above all in the district round Kholm, and the buildings were frequently burned.

175 The reaction of the Ukrainian population was considerable.
● 871 In the field of education steps were taken to organise private Ukrainian schools; thus in 1934-35 there were 21 Ukrainian secondary schools, 5 continuation vocational schools — mostly in the towns. This is no mean accomplishment in view of the Polish resistance. Besides actual schooling. Ukrainian youth outside of the schools was organised. In 1938 in Galicia. alone the Ukrainian Union for Adult Education had half a million members, 84 branches, 3208 reading rooms. 2065 theatrical societies and 1105 choirs (the Union was forbidden by Polish Law outside
175 of Galicia). Cooperative stores also served to support Ukrainian
474 interests. In 1935 there were incorporated in the Ukrainian Central Cooperative Organisation 3013 cooperative societies with a membership of 541 508. This organisation of economic self-help had also to struggle against bitter Polish resistance, as expressed in the military pacification of Galicia in 1930 or the

of Rome as the supreme head of their church, the pioneers of the Union and of the cultural independence of Ukraine wished to throw off the cultural yoke of Poland, thinking that they would acquire equal rights with the Poles once the churches were united. The course of events has showed how much they were mistaken; for the Poles have merely exploited this rapprochement in ecclesiastical affairs as an instrument by means of which, with the help of the Jesuits, they aimed at ruling over the entire East and at completely absorbing the Ukrainian nation.

Western influence can also be detected in the guild-like organisations of the Ukrainian middle-classes in towns like Lviv Kyiv, Lutsk etc., organisations which, in addition to promoting the interests of a particular class or trade, also concerned themselves with church affairs. One of their main aims was the foundation of schools which taught Latin as well as Church Slavonic and Greek.

The most important foundation of those so-called Brotherhood schools was undoubtedly the Kyiv Academy which owed its supremacy as an intellectual center, not only of Ukraine, but of the whole of Eastern Europe to the activities of such an eminent personality as Metropolitan Peter Mohyla. Mohyla, the son of the governor of Moldavia and educated in Jesuit schools, remained a life-long advocate of western culture and the Catholic Church, the organisation of which served him as a model when he was planning the reform of the Orthodox Church. We are scarcely able to-day to imagine what an enormous revolution and what great boldness of spirit was implied in the idea of introducing Catholic principles and methods into the organisation of the Orthodox Church which had been hostile to Rome for centuries. And yet this unique plan succeeded and could succeed only in Ukraine, for it was here alone that history had prepared the way for the adoption of these plans for realising western ideas. The spirit which inspired Mohyla's activities was wholly directed towards the West, as was clearly expressed in his innovations: in dogma, however, he remained a loyal disciple of the "faith

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

Education

The history of education and schools in Ukraine dates from the tenth century when Christianity was introduced. The mass of the original native population had little interest in schools and learning so that the real representatives of scholarship were to be found among the higher clergy and at court. Documentary evidence proves that at this time there was a considerable circle of scholars in Kyiv and that Yaroslav the Wise had Greek books translated and founded a library, perhaps the first to be found in the century, in the church of St. Sophia. 871 ●

This work, so important from the point of view of cultural history, accomplished by the Kyiv princes in the province of teaching and education, came to an abrupt end in the 13th century when the Tatar hordes flooded the country. This caused the centers of culture to be shifted still further into the principality of Galicia-Volynia. The same fate overtook the other Ukrainian countries which were annexed to Poland. In spite of the difficulties and unrest prevailing in these areas their level of education was comparatively high, compared with neighboring countries. The Ukrainian language was recognised in the principality of Lithuania as the language of state and court and when the union with Poland took place, original Ukrainian culture was at least equal to Polish. In the course of time, however, this relationship was changed.

Education in Ukrainian territory was exclusively organised by the clergy. This disintegration of the life of the Orthodox Church in the 15th and 16th centuries was therefore of enormous importance for the cultural standing of the country; it was disastrous as, just then, Poland's intellectual life was most

• 871 flourishing and the Jesuits began to launch a campaign of religious propaganda on Ukrainian territory as well. They founded schools which attracted the aristocracy of Ukraine so that this section of society of unquestioned importance for the future of the nation became entirely Polish.

The influence of the Reformation in the 16th century was relatively weak in Ukraine. And yet a desire to improve prevailing conditions did exist and gave indeed rise to the first modest attempts to bring about from within a reform of the Orthodox Church and of the educational system depending on it. Thus, towards the end of the 16th century the first Ukrainian college was organised in Ostroh by Konstantin Ostrozhskyj, the greatest Ukrainian magnate.

The brotherhoods, or guilds, now the only leaders of the Ukrainian nation in its continued struggle for religious and cultural independence, since the nobility had become completely Polish, also sought to promote education. Such centers of mental organisation were formed throughout Ukraine, those in Wilno, Lviv, Brest, Lutsk and later in Kyiv playing the main part. They regarded it as their main function to found schools which, organised on western models, should take up cudgels against the Latin schools and Jesuit colleges. The curricula of these schools included in addition to subjects of a religious nature, Old Slavonic and Greek, grammar, dialectics, rhetoric and themes of philosophy; the Lviv school, as an exception, got permission from the king of Poland to include Latin in its curriculum.

The brotherhoods lacked material means of developing more extensive cultural activity. They therefore had to look round for a new power in Ukrainian life to support them in their struggle against Roman Catholicism and Poland. And this power they found in the Cossacks. As a result of a shift in the center of political power, Kyiv, which was very near the Cossack territory, became once more the center of culture. There at the beginning of the 17th century the college founded by the Metropolitan Mohyla was organised and became an institute which has played an eminent part in the education and culture of entire Eastern Europe. Peter Mohyla, himself a product of Catholic Jesuit education, and related to the most important

Polish magnates, was all his life a zealous devotee of western culture and of the Catholic Church. His whole activity was inspired by a spirit which certainly was directed towards the west; but as far as dogma was concerned he remained absolutely loyal to the Orthodox Church. It is comprehensible that the school under his direction should have pursued the same policy of reconciliation between points of view that had been hitherto diametrically opposed to each other. Latin was the basis of instruction; but, in addition, Church Slavonic, Greek and Polish were also taught. The greatest attention was paid to theology, but logic, physics and metaphysics were also on the curriculum. 87/●

The educational work done by different brotherhood schools with the Kyiv Academy at their head, brought a rich harvest. The general level of education rose considerably. But the state's position of dependence was in those days an insuperable barrier to the development of a system of education in Ukraine and to the growth of national pedagogic ideals. As a result of the disastrous outcome of the Cossack wars Ukraine was divided into two spheres of influence. After the partition of Poland about the turn of the 18th century almost the whole Ukrainian territory was occupied by Russia.

The methods applied by the imperial government in the 19th century to make Russians out of Ukrainians were cruel. The Ukrainians were denied all rights to existence as an independent people in the hope that they would be absorbed by the great mass of Russia. It is obvious that there could be no question of a Ukrainian educational system under such circumstances. It was not till the Revolution broke out in 1905 that an improvement, if a brief, set in. An actual renaissance was only possible when the Russian empire collapsed in 1917. During the short period of political independence (1918—1920), two Ukrainian universities were founded in Kyiv and Kamianets Podilskyj, while a host of secondary schools and thousands of elementary schools sprang into being, in all of which Ukrainian was the language of instruction. At the old universities of Kyiv, Kharkiv and Odessa which had been allowed to retain Russian as the vehicle of instruction, new chairs had been established for the Ukrainian language, history, history of the Ukrainian law, and literature.

● 871 The professional training of young teachers was already being given in the competent faculties, in pedagogic colleges, training colleges and in the (usually) short courses for training teachers. A large staff of intellectual workers, who would help to educate the people in national culture, was to be trained in a short space of time. By the end of 1918 there existed on Ukrainian territory 47 208 elementary schools, 474 secondary schools for boys, 362 for girls, 91 commercial schools, 9 theological training colleges for priests and 30 church schools. But this natural development was interrupted by the new civil war the final result of which was the creation of a Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the subjection to Moscow of the entire public life in Ukraine.

In keeping with the principles on which the Bolshevist theory of education was founded, the school had first and foremost to be pressed into the service of a militant communism and thus contribute a good share to the revolutionising of society. Paragraph 12 in the program of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party expressly states that "the school must not merely become a herald of communist principles in general but also an instrument by means of which the organised proletariat could spread ideas of organisation and education among the half-proletarian classes of the population, so that a new generation might arise which would be able to abolish class distinctions entirely and thus finally bring about the realisation of communism."

The basic plan of enlightening the people in the U.S.S.R. included the following: the social education of children, vocational teaching in schools, political enlightenment outside of school, scientific work and an expensive publishing concern as a basic measure for spreading enlightenment. This system of education provided for the needs of communist youth as follows:

1. Social education of children from 4 to 8 years old (children's clubs, gardens, grounds, houses and towns).

2. Social education at school (uniform 7-year school in two sections, one for pupils from 8 to 12, and one for the 12 to 15 years old).

3. Vocational training which started at 15 and included the following stages: 871

a) a vocational school lasting 2 or 3 years giving courses in industrial subjects, machinery, agriculture, medicine and economics, followed by a practical year for the purpose of preparing qualified workers. After graduating from that

b) a technical institute with a course of 3 years for advanced study, the results of which were to be applied to practice. Scientific tasks were performed in

c) institutes with professorial chairs for training highly qualified practical experts and also by

d) academies with a 2 years' course for the purpose of training young scholars and researchers in every province of science.

What cannot fail to strike us in this basic plan is the entire absence of universities and other colleges which are replaced mainly by institutes, academies and faculties for working men. As far as the institutes are concerned, the champions of this system of education maintain that it was only possible to establish them after a severe struggle against the university system, "which preserved important remnants of mediaeval scholastic learning, dissolved scientific research in philosophical thought and had radically reduced the scientific function of the university to a minimum." The universities, therefore, were played out and had to be replaced by another form of higher learning.

The institutes for the education of the public, which were formed out of the old universities with the help of teachers from former teachers' training colleges, are a special group. They possess three faculties, viz. 1. the faculty of social education intended to train teachers for the communal gardens and for the elementary schools, 2. the faculty of vocational training which, as its name implies, had to supply the vocational schools and technical schools with teachers and finally 3. the faculty for political enlightenment; this last faculty trained propagandists and lecturers to enlighten wide circles of the population, teachers 874

874 for party schools, for workmen's clubs and centers of adult education in the country.

871 In the course of years this basic scheme underwent many changes till it was adapted to the general Soviet scheme in 1932; by a resolution passed by the Central Executive of the Communist Party on August 25 of that year the 7-year elementary school in Ukraine was transformed into a 10-year school, a third section being added, and the technical schools which had not yet become institutes were put on the same level as the higher schools; new universities had to be founded in order to cope with the difficult tasks of cultural reconstruction. It is not our place here to criticise this or that measure; in order to evaluate these radical reforms properly one would have not only to examine the plans but also their application in practice and the results they achieved.

We are, however, particularly interested in the national element in the general system of communist education which finds articulate expression in the language used.

195 871 In the original Ukrainian Socialist Republic the Ukrainian language was to have priority as the official language; this point of view was approved even in 1920 after the Revolution and steps were taken to make Ukrainian the vehicle of instruction throughout the schools where this had not already been done. Ukrainian nationalists were quick to seize this opportunity of promoting their native tongue and to aim at positive results at least in this province. But the growth in national consciousness among the broad masses of workmen and peasants due to the intensified use of the Ukrainian language began to make communist leading circles in the country uneasy. Russian was introduced as a second official language, by which the authorities hoped to put a brake on nationalism and to prevent Ukrainian influences from becoming too strong. Thus there were throughout Ukraine schools taught in two, and even three languages in order that Russian and Jewish minorities might enjoy their own rights. This preference shown to national minorities greatly handicapped the proper official language, a fact that was the more striking the higher the level of school investigated. The position of Ukrainian was most precarious at the universities,

as was frankly admitted by the official representatives at the People's Commissariat for education. The shortage of teachers able to lecture in Ukrainian, the lack of Ukrainian text-books and the poor development of Ukrainian scientific terminology were quoted as excuses; sometimes also the hostile attitude of some of the professors. 195 871 ●

The same thing could be noticed in the attendance of schools by pupils of different nationality. In all vocational schools there were 53,1 % Ukrainians, 20 % Russians, and 22,5 % Jews while the population was composed as follows: 80 % Ukrainians, 9.2 % Russians, and 5.4 % Jews. Circumstances were even less favorable to the Ukrainians at the universities where the percentage of Ukrainian students sank in proportion as Jewish and Russian quotas increased. The "purges" that were conducted at universities from time to time carried off mainly Ukrainians, thereby still further reducing the proportion of students from the nation to which the majority of the population belonged.

The provinces in Eastern Galicia and Bucovina which had fallen to Austria were incorporated in the general educational system in that country. The efforts of the Ukrainian population in the second half of the 19th century were confined to preserving the national character of the schools. In this they only partially succeeded, as the Poles were hostile to these efforts. To be able to educate their young people along national lines, the Ukrainians founded a series of private schools about the turn of the century which were maintained by public Ukrainian contributions. At the same time a severe struggle arose round Lviv university, which the Polish authorities in Galicia had transformed from an originally German and then Ukrainian-Polish university to an almost entirely Polish center of education. Circumstances were more favorable in Bucovina where the Ukrainians wer tolerated by the Germans to satisfy their national claims. 871

In consequence of the unhappy outcome of the war between Poland and Ukraine (1919), Eastern Galicia was incorporated in the Polish state, whereby the position of the Ukrainians became much worse than it had been under Austria. According to

● 871 the last Austrian school statistics there were 2612 elementary schools in Eastern Galicia where Ukrainian was the vehicle of instruction. During the school-year 1927/28 there were only 745 of such elementary schools, and, on the other hand, 2325 taught in Polish and 1635 bilingual schools (Polish and Ukrainian). Matters were worse in the schools in north-western Ukrainian territory, i. e. in Volynia, Polessya, Podlakhia and the Kholm district. In the latter two areas there was not a single Ukrainian elementary school. In the administration of Volynia there were 4 out of 1144 elementary schools taught in Ukrainian, 390 were bilingual and 750 Polish. It is also to be noted that the schools taught in Ukrainian were always inferior schools, for of the 917 Ukrainian elementary schools in Eastern Galicia in 1926, 842 were schools with only one or two rooms.

Following the example of other European states, Poland also developed all kinds of vocational schools. But in the entire Ukrainian territory under Poland there was not a single vocational school taught in Ukrainian and Ukrainians who wished to study at Polish vocational schools met with great difficulties. The Plebiscite Law of July 31, 1924, forbids the Ukrainian population to erect vocational and secondary schools and teachers' training colleges in which Ukrainian is the vehicle of instruction. Bilingual secondary schools only may be founded. In the while on Ukrainian territory under Poland there was not one state Ukrainian vocational school nor one state college for training teachers taught in Ukrainian.

While Lviv was under Austria there were some chairs at the university where lectures were held in Ukrainian, but these were immediately abolished as soon as Poland occupied the town. And it must be recalled that according to the law of September 20, 1922, the Polish government had promised to erect a Ukrainian university within two years, which promise was never fulfilled.

From 1920—1924 there was in Lviv a Ukrainian university with three faculties which was forbidden by the Polish authorities and had to operate secretly. This proved impossible in the long run and the university had to be dissolved. In order to put a stop to Polish penetration the Ukrainian people tried to create a

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

private school system of their own within the frontiers of Poland. In 1932/33 there were 15 Ukrainian secondary schools, 6 teachers' training colleges, 4 vocational schools, 5 advanced vocational schools, 4 schools for trades and 31 elementary schools. These schools received no subsidy from the state and were subjected to different methods of persecution on the part of Polish school authorities.

In the Bucovina, too, things took a turn for the worse when this country was occupied by Roumania after the dèbâcle of 1918. In 1919 already, Ukrainian schools were forced to make way for Roumanian and after a few years there were neither any more schools taught in Ukrainian nor any Ukrainian chairs at the Chernivtsi university. It was even forbidden to study Ukrainian and teachers were not allowed to give explanations in their mother-tongue to children who did not understand Roumanian. Ukrainian universities in Czechoslovakia deserve special mention; firstly because they offered a refuge to professors who had fled from their home and secondly because they made it possible for a large number of young people to finish their study which the First World War had interrupted. The first to be founded in 1921 was the Ukrainian Free University in Prague which still exists since 1945 in Munich; it has two faculties, a faculty of law and a falculty of arts which comprises departments for history and languages, mathematics and natural science. This university has many and various functions and aims. The national education of youth comes first and so most emphasis is put on those subjects that cannot be taught at foreign universities on account of their specifically Ukrainian character. In addition, they aim at training scientific workers and the professors of the future capable of teaching at Ukrainian schools to be founded later. Other colleges which sprang up in Czechoslovakia soon after the university was founded, were the Agricultural College in Podjebrady, presently at Regensburg, and the Teachers' training College (liquidated in 1930) as well as the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

level of the earlier times. Western influences become more prominent; it is a time of transition, nor does the Reformation count for much, for even the Ukrainian translation of the Bible by Dr. Franz Skoryna in 1515 was a response to national needs and cannot be derived from external influences. The first Ukrainian books, on the other hand, were printed in 1491—93 by Shveipolt Fiol in a German printing-press in Cracow, and that in connection with the first Ukrainian academy (Ostroh 1577—1640), which had been formed for the purpose of publishing a critical edition of the Bible.

Literary and educative activity was really in the hands of the brotherhoods, which naturally were greatly interested in efforts to unite the churches. Polish literature worthy of note arose, important preliminary work was done in the province of language (Smotrytskyj's Grammar of Church Slavonic 1618), but it was only after Mohyla (1596—1647) re-organised the Academy in Kyiv that a cultural center was formed which was to play a decisive part in the literature of Ukraine for about 200 years.

Theological, rhetorical and philosophical works appear, the history text-book "Synopsis" by I. Gisel (died in 1684) goes through 30 editions, and Gregor Skovoroda (1722—1794), the most eminent philosopher of the 18th century in Eastern Europe and a student at the Kyiv Academy, wrote his books, the real significance of which is only being recognised now.

The cultural renaissance in Ukraine due to the brotherhoods and the Kyiv Academy brought new impetus to other provinces of intellectual life, as for instance dramatic art (Jakob Gavatovych 1598—1679, Mytrophan Dowhalevskyj 18th century. Demeter Rostovskyj, 1651—1705, the writing of history Samuel Velychko, died in 1728; Gregor Hrabyanka, died in 1737, and Gregor Poletyka, died in 1784), and also in plastic art which reached a high level of excellence in the Left Bank Region under Mazeppa's hetmanate. Young men in Ukraine were no longer content with native education; more and more they flocked to foreign, and above all, to German and Italian universities. Hetman Rozumovskyj's (1728—1803) intention to found a native uni-

871 versity in his own residential town of Baturyn was prevented from being realised by pressure from the government of Russia.

538 But in the darkest of days a renaissance sets in, if slowly and scarcely noticeable. 1798 is the date of the appearance of the "Aeneid" by Ivan Kotlarevskyj (1769—1838). It presents actual life in Ukraine, written after a classical model in the form of a satire and in Ukrainian language, which thus becomes the language of literature and culture. Just at a time of greatest oppression, the greatest Ukrainian poet was born: Taras Shevchenko (1814—1861), the national genius, whose prophetic instinct sensed the course of development of native literature and who devoted his entire energy to furthering it. His poems, collected under the title of "Cobzar" (the popular minstrel) became the bible of every patriotic Ukrainian. He was exiled for his views to Siberia by the government of Russia and suffered great hardships which caused his early death. Shevchenko marked a brilliant end to the development of Ukrainian literature up to that onoment but at the same time, the starting-point for a new movement. Pantelejmon Kulish (1819—1897), a most productive writer of many-sided education, was one of Shevchenko's intimates; he distinguished himself not only as a poet, but also as an ethnographer, a historian, a critic, and a translator. In the second half of the 19th century Michael Drahomaniv (1841—1895), a professor at the university in Kyiv, later in Sophia, a follower of socialism and inclined to internationalism, produced much eminent work, though not always of positive value. About the same time in the area of Ukraine that belonged to Austria, Ivan Franko (1856—1916) was working as a poet, a scholar and a politician of renown, being besides Shevchenko the most important personality in modern Ukraine. Round about the turn of the century there was a great increase in the number of Ukrainian writers; among the best known are Lesja Ukrayinka (1872—1913), the author of wonderful poems in dramatic form; Vasyl Stefanyk (1871—1937), whose short stories often portray the tragic fate of Ukrainian peasants; Les Martovych (1871—1916); an accurate observer of life not only among peasants, but also among the educated provincial classes in Ukraine; Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880), a representative of

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Ukrainian schools were again started; a number of Communist newspapers began to appear in the Ukrainian language; and generally the usual 'Galician technique' of opening Ukrainian publishing centres, museums, libraries, theatres and so forth was followed (incidentally many Galicians made their appearance in Soviet Ukraine during this period). The official 'state ideology' of Marxism was of course made obligatory for everyone, and the new volumes of Hrushevsky's fundamental history of the Ukraine which were now published in Kiev revealed that in his old age the distinguished professor had come to appreciate the truth of the doctrine of historical materialism.

The population remained as indifferent to measures of 'ukrainization' as it had in the *Rada* days, although now there were more numerous manifestations of it than in the past. Although Ukrainian had become a kind of official language, few appeared to have any taste for its use, either in the administration or in private life. One of the authors of *L'Ukraine—Terre Russe*, who occupied an administrative post in one of the Soviet institutions in the Ukraine between the years 1921 and 1924, confesses that he never once wrote a line in Ukrainian during the whole course of his employment.

In 1925 Kaganovich made his appearance in the Ukraine in the role of leader of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Stalin's future brother-in-law was also one of his most intimate friends, and at that time Stalin had already secured almost absolute power in the Soviet Union. Kaganovich's mission was to make a thorough inspection of the personnel of the Party in the Ukraine and to eliminate the 'unreliable and opportunist elements'.

At the same time Kaganovich had an opportunity of coming to the conclusion that Communism in the Ukraine was not at that date an overwhelming success. According to statistics published some time later by the Central Committee of the Party, out of every 10,000 inhabitants of the Ukraine the ratio of Communists was as follows: Jews, 155; Great Russians and 'new-comers', 88; Ukrainians, 39. About 15 per cent of women had joined Communist organisations—a far lower proportion than in the north. The proportion of Ukrainian students in the high schools which had been opened to form 'responsible Ukrainian workers and specialists' was disappointingly low in comparison to the number of their Jewish fellows: in the Social-Economic Faculty there were 1500 Ukrainians to 1000 Jews; in the Industrial-Technical Faculty, 2600 Ukrainians to 2200 Jews; in the Medical Faculty only 2000 Ukrainians to 2200 Jews; whereas the proportion of Ukrainians to Jews in the whole population was 10 to 1.

186 snapped up by the Borotbisty and the Ukapisty in the Commis-
191 sariat for Education. In a short time they worked so effectively
665 that nearly all the books published in Ukraine and about 85% of the newspapers were put out in Ukrainian. The circulation of these Ukrainian publications in the villages increased rapidly and aided in producing a sense of relief among the peasants and a tolerance of the situation which was in sharp contrast to the prevailing mood of a few years before.

• [871] A network of Ukrainian schools was set up throughout the country with instruction in the native language and the number of students grew rapidly from among the peasant classes. It had been centuries since the Ukrainian language had reached such a state of popularity. The theatres produced plays in Ukrainian as the chief part of their repertory. The cities assumed a markedly Ukrainian appearance and the leaders could look with satisfaction on their results.

871 The one difficulty was the low level of the instruction in many
186 places but this was equally characteristic of the Russian terrain.[1] The revolution and the Bolshevik laws had abolished the old Russian system of education and had eliminated from the schools the bulk of the older intelligentsia and their children who, on one excuse or another, were excluded from all opportunities for study. The old disciplines were abolished and the Soviet school entered upon a chaotic period. Nevertheless, the changes which the former Borotbist Hrynko introduced, including the establishment of seven year schools which gave the students the right to enter upon a three year course in various technical schools, served to increase rapidly the number of young and partly trained Ukrainians who were available for posts in the government service and who thereby freed the organization from its dependence upon Russian-trained people.

645 In 1925, he[2] was succeeded in the post of Commissar by O.
871 Shumsky, likewise a Borotbist, who had held the post of Ukrainian
186 Minister in Warsaw. He had come back in 1923 to become the
665 Director of Agitation and Propaganda for the Central Committee of the KP/b/U. An ardent believer in the Ukrainian cause, he

[1] [1923 -- Analyst]

[2] [Hrynko, Commissar of Education -- Analyst] 60

opposed very strenuously all the Russifying influences in the Party and insisted, as a matter of principle, that only Ukrainian Communists should be promoted to prominent posts in the Ukrainian Communist organizations. He even went so far as to insist, when Kaganovich was sent from Moscow as Secretary of the Ukrainian section of the party, that he be removed and replaced by Chubar, an old Bolshevik, and he recommended that Hrynko should be made the head of the state.

Kaganovich, who had been rather on the side of Shumsky in many of his enterprises, now turned against him on the ground that he was breaking Communist discipline and, in a short time, Shumsky was removed and transferred to Moscow, where he received a post as head of the trade unions. From there he was moved to Leningrad to become head of a school of economics, but by this time his star was setting. Shumsky, on more charges, was sent to a concentration camp near the Finnish border. According to the story, he was assured that he had a chance to escape. He tried it and was shot. His leading assistants, Maksymovych, Vasylkiv and Turyansky, were branded as Shumkyists and punished accordingly.

His successor, M. Skrypnyk, took up his work as Commissar of Education under even better auspices. Unlike his predecessors, who had entered the Communist Party from the ranks of the Borotbisty or the Ukapisty and who thereby risked the charge of being Ukrainian nationalists and having bourgeois-nationalist sympathies, Skrypnyk had been an old member of the Russian Social Democratic Party (Bolsheviks). He had been a personal friend of Lenin long before the Revolution. He had been arrested several times by the tsarist government, had taken an active part in the October Revolution of 1917 and was a disciplined member of the party. He was thus above reproach so far as his party standing was concerned.

From the time of the foundation of the Ukrainian National Republic, Skrypnyk had been one of the outstanding Ukrainians in the Communist Party. From the beginning he had taken the definite stand that the Communist organization in Ukraine should be thoroughly Ukrainian, independent of the Russian Communist Party and with a seat in the Comintern. He believed that Ukraine

should naturally have a Soviet government and be an independent state with all the rights and perquisites of the RSFSR and he regarded the war between the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the Ukrainian National Republic as a civil war in which the Soviet Russians naturally came to the aid of the Soviet Ukrainians. At the same time he believed equally strongly that this assistance should be that of a brother-nation and should have no elements of a foreign occupation.

He was a disciplined Communist and he always acted in accordance with the strictest Communist tradition. He never joined any faction or questioned the vote of his superiors but he remained firm in his convictions, and while he was always in the minority and was willing to yield superficially, he always seized the next opportunity to advance substantially the same points but in a somewhat different form. He was on friendly terms with Stalin and he came to his post after a definite interview with Stalin and with instructions that put him in a position second only to Kaganovich.

The appointment of Skrypnyk with his Communist record showed very well that in 1927 the VKP (the All-Union Communist Party) was still playing with the idea of making the Communist International a real gathering of supposed equals, united under the leadership of a central body in Moscow. It was a tacit recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a political entity, but it was equally the recognition of a Marxian Socialist culture which might lead to some of the later developments of Stalinism. The appointment insured Stalin of the aid of the true Ukrainian Communists in the coming battle between him and the left deviationists.

Once in his own mind Skrypnyk had answered the problem, he did not waver. He accepted the Marxian doctrine that by the development of an urban proletariat he could develop the Ukrainians to the point where they would be justified in demanding an entrance into the Comintern as an independent nation. He interpreted the cases of Czechoslovakia and Latvia as exactly that, since the proletariats of Prague and Brno, as well as Riga, had forced

national independence and he set himself to do the same in Kiev and Kharkiv. 645 871 ●

Without wavering in his devotion to the principles of Communism, he attacked the problem in the broadest possible way. 186 665 He stimulated derussification by supporting the Ukrainian press, theatre and schools. Under his influence and work, the cities, including Kharkiv, where Ukrainian influence had been relatively weak, came to be predominantly Ukrainian and in smaller places it became very rare to hear Russian spoken. The State Printing House and the smaller cooperative publishing houses produced almost nothing that was not in Ukrainian and during the few years that he remained in control, there were more Ukrainian books published than in the preceding century and a half.

Skrypnyk was still not satisfied. He extended his activity and patronage of things Ukrainian to all those areas in the RSFSR where Ukrainians were living in compact settlements. He provided Ukrainian papers, books and theatres for those who were living in Kurshchyna, Voronizhshchyna, along the Volga, Kuban, Western Siberia and Kazakhstan and the Far East. He sent educated men and women to establish schools and other cultural institutions and, for the first time in history, efforts were made to establish a real community of interests among all the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union.

More than that, he held out a friendly hand to Western Ukraine, [648] which was under Polish rule. Although by this time the entire control of foreign affairs was concentrated in Moscow, Skrypnyk was allowed to arrange for a Ukrainian consul in Lviv and Yur. Lapchynsky, a former Ukapist, was appointed to the post. The consul's duty was to win support for the Communists in Eastern Galicia and, in pursuance of this purpose, Skrypnyk, too, paid a visit to Lviv. He had a certain success in his work and a few Western Ukrainians, as S. Rudnytsky, who came from Prague to become the head of the Ukrainian Institute of Geography and Cartography in Kharkiv, and the mathematician Chaykivsky, entered the UkSSR. They formed a special club in Kharkiv and had their own literary organization "Western Ukraine." Skrypnyk

645 even worked out a plan to recruit 8,000 teachers in Western
871 Ukraine to undertake Ukrainian work in the Donbas where the
186 Russian influence was strongest.
665 At the same time Skrypnyk was a determined Communist and he lost no opportunity for advancing the doctrines of the movement, even at the risk of doing violence to those Ukrainian ideals in which he believed. Thus, in 1928, he demanded a reformation of
[815] the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences which had been working feverishly in the same cause of Ukrainization but which, from his point of view, was insufficiently Marxist and Communist. In 1929 he won his point and the Academy was forced to elect to membership seven Communists who were chosen for their knowledge of the subject and not for their scientific ability. One of the seven was Skrypnyk himself, and among the others were O. Shlikhter and Zatonsky, the veteran from the earlier Ukrainian Communist movement. He soon promoted Shlikhter to a prominent position and refused to confirm the election of the non-Communist scholar, Krymsky, to the post of secretary. At the same time he forced the election of several Western Ukrainian members, so that for a few years the Academy did become a real centre to represent all Ukrainian scholarship.

Thus, in this complex process Skrypnyk played at times a curious and often contradictory role. He was at once the head of the Ukrainian movement and of the Communist movement in the country and he never realized or noticed the contradictory character of his actions, like Tito in the early years of his dealing with Moscow. Still, during his term of office the Ukrainian movement reached its height and seemed to be flourishing.

661 was to be administered in accordance with a plan drawn up in
558 Moscow. He was replaced by Volodymyr Zatonsky, who had been one of the foremost advocates of russification.

[665] The axe was used still more widely on the entire Communist Party in Ukraine. Within ten months, Postyshev removed two hundred thirty-seven secretaries of regional party committees, two hundred seventy-nine heads of regional executive committees, and one hundred and fifty-eight heads of regional control commissions. Nearly one thousand prominent Communists were removed, not to speak of lesser members. Since there were little more than 125,000 Communists in Ukraine, it is easy to see that a large proportion of the Party was unceremoniously eliminated. Elimination meant not only demotion but it was practically a death sentence, for those expelled were charged with that most serious crime against the state, bourgeois nationalism or sabotage, and the vast majority were either shot or deported.

[814] Postyshev turned his attention to the Academy of Sciences which had already been purged of its leading members. Here he found some two hundred and fifty more who were removed on charges of Ukrainian chauvinism or sabotage. In their place, he introduced ordinary Communists or Russians with more regard to their reliability and their loyalty to Stalin than to their capability or scholarly qualifications.

191 Postyshev's object was the rerussification of the country, for it
626 had already been commented in Moscow that there were too many of the young Ukrainians who were securing an education only in Ukrainian without knowing the master language of Russian. Skrypnyk had paid no attention to these complaints, for he retorted that in Moscow the young Russians were not learning Ukrainian and he assumed that all the Soviet Republics had the same rights. He was soon to learn differently, for from now on Russian was to be the official language of widest use.

[204] In every considerable city Postyshev established Russian news-
[871] papers which had almost completely vanished during the period of Ukrainization. He opened Russian schools in the leading cities and he introduced Russian into all the other schools on an equality

1 [1933 -- Analyst]
1 122

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

in working out a complex organization after twenty years of near-exclusion from public administration, as well as to delay in securing the approval of Frank and Hitler. On April 13–15, 1940, however, representatives of Ukrainian groups were able to meet openly in Cracow as a steering committee, and in early June this body was formally recognized by Frank as the Ukrainian Central Committee.[13]

The accomplishment was a considerable one, although on paper the new body was extremely limited in its function which, in accordance with Hitler's injunction, was defined as the improvement of the welfare of the Ukrainian population of the Generalgouvernement. For this purpose, the committee was granted the right to prepare a budget covered in part by allocation of funds from the treasury of the Generalgouvernement and was allowed to direct a network of Aid Committees throughout the Ukrainian ethnographical area. Among the more important formal functions of the organization was the distribution of aid received from philanthropic agencies in the United States and from the International Red Cross.[14] As is usually the case with Ukrainian organizations working under the shadow of arbitrary foreign regimes, however, the formal aspect of its activity was not the most important. Officially, the committee had no control over education, but through its relations with the German authorities it was able to exert great influence on the selection of teachers and the provision of instructional facilities. Through its control of welfare funds, it was able to facilitate the attendance of numerous children at the Ukrainian schools.[15] Thus it rendered an important contribution to the reinvigoration of Ukrainian cultural life throughout the area.

This educational activity was carried on in close connection with the development of a Ukrainian press. The November conference, in addition to laying the groundwork for a central representative body, had founded (also under Dr. Kubiiovych's direction) a large-scale publishing agency which issued a series

[13] *Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstvo* (Encyclopedia of Things Ukrainian), eds. Volodymyr Kubiiovych and Zenon Kuzelia (Munich: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1949), pp. 580–82.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Interview 9.

[Ukrainian Central Committee in General Government -- Analyst]

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

of new school texts in Ukrainian, as well as popular editions of Ukrainian works.[16] Still more important, it began the publication of a newspaper which stood head and shoulders above any other Ukrainian publication in the German-dominated areas. *Krakivs'ki Visti* (Cracow News, as it was named after the Germans forbade the use of "Ukrainian" in the title) was one of the few papers which did not become a party organ but consistently served as a forum for a broad variety of Ukrainian viewpoints. Moreover, it was the only paper of this nature which possessed considerable material resources and attracted numerous contributions from writers of real talent. It was subjected to a censorship stricter than that inflicted on Ukrainian papers in Greater Germany (although much less severe than that of the papers later established under German rule farther east); nevertheless, it was able to reflect a considerable range of Ukrainian life and thought. As a result it is an invaluable witness of the events of the war years.

From the standpoint of Ukrainian national interests, the favorable policy of the Germans toward the group's cultural development was particularly valuable in enabling it to regain some of the ground lost under the Polish repression. It would take a lengthy volume to detail the ways in which the Ukrainians were able to improve their situation in this respect during the early war years. A single statistic will suffice, however, to indicate the general nature of the gains made. In the school year 1942–43 there were 4,173 Ukrainian-language schools in the Generalgouvernement,[17] while on the corresponding territory before 1939 there were only 2,510—of which only 457 were exclusively Ukrainian.[18] The most marked advance took place in the Chelm area, where, in the autumn of 1939, a large influx of intellectuals fleeing Soviet rule in eastern Galicia brought a new vigor to the cultural life of the Ukrainian community.[19]

[16] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 2, 1942, p. 3.

[17] This refers of course to the enlarged Generalgouvernement, which included eastern Galicia. It is, however, indicative of an extension of the Ukrainian educational system which was if anything even more pronounced in the areas west of the San and the Bug.

[18] P. Isaiïv, article on Ukrainian schools in the Generalgouvernement during the Second World War, *Entsyklopediia Ukraïnoznavstva*, p. 952; Buell, p. 279. The remainder were "mixed" schools which Buell says were given over to Polish teachers.

[19] Iurii (George) Tarkovych, "Zabuti Zemli" (Forgotten Lands), *Krakivs'ki Visti*, May 10, 1942, p. 1.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

such as the head of the *oblast* (district) administration, Alexander Iatseniuk, the chief of the city administration, Pavlovs'kyi, and nearly all of his department heads.[50] A wide variety of nationalist organizations sprang up, including Prosvita, churches, and an active theater. Local artists appeared on Ukrainian programs permitted by the German-controlled broadcasting station. Schools, including two *gimnaziias* and a pedagogical institute, were reopened, and a local school administration was established.[51]

The population of the city sank to forty-two thousand (including seven thousand Poles and two thousand Russians) after the deportation of the Jews. However, economic life was stimulated by the reopening of a sugar refinery and other industries; markets were reopened and private trade was encouraged.[52] One hundred and seventy-nine physicians were present, a very high number in proportion to the population.[53] An extremely active youth organization, known, like its counterparts in the West Ukraine, as the Sich, was formed; its activities included sports, choral singing, theatricals, and development of an orchestra.[54]

All of these organizations were under the control of nationalist Ukrainians, although the emphasis appeared to be on the formation of a Ukrainian territorial state which would include all persons, of whatever ethnic origin, living on Ukrainian soil. Thus one of the chief administrative officials, the head of the *raion* administration (i.e., the rural area outside the city) was a Pole, and the director of the economic section of the city administration was a Russian.[55] There appears to have been a large measure of cordiality between the local groups and the OUN representa-

[50] Fedir (Theodore) S. Iefremenko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 1, 1941, p. 2; 454th Sicherungsdivision, Section VII, Report of October 4, 1941, NOKW 2129 (hereafter referred to as NOKW 2129).

[51] *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'*, October 1, 1941, p. 1; Iefremenko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 24 and 26, 1941, pp. 2 and 3; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, August 25, 1942, p. 5; *Nastup*, September 6, 1941, p. 5.

[52] *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'*, September 15, 1941, p. 1, based on *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Zhitomir), August 3, 1941; Iefremenko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 26, 1941, p. 3.

[53] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 24, 1941, p. 2; many, however, were apparently Jews who were temporarily spared because of their usefulness (*Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 1, 1941, p. 2).

[54] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 26, 1941, p. 3.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 2, and *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 1, 1941, p. 2.

[Zhitomir in the East Ukraine, 1941 -- Analyst]

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Like the cooperative movement, popular education had long been a cornerstone of Ukrainian nationalism, more important in many respects than direct political action. In the conflict between the national Communists in the Ukraine and the Stalinist centralists, it was especially the commissars of education, such as Shums'kyi and Skrypnyk, who had led the fight for Ukrainization of cultural life. Consequently it was natural that nationalist Ukrainians were determined to control the municipal departments of education under German occupation.

A major aim of the Reichskommissar and his henchmen, however, was to prevent the development of a cultured Ukrainian class, to convert the people into a race of submissive peasants. Rosenberg's vision of a university in Kiev went by the board, and the standard schooling for every Ukrainian child was set at four years.[35] Few material injuries were as deeply resented as this drastic curb on the opportunities for education. Since there were real shortages of materials, books, and teachers, the Ukrainians held to the hope that the restriction did not represent a permanent policy, even in the face of the closing of *gimnaziias* which had been reopened under the army administration through the efforts of the local population itself.[36]

To a limited extent the ban on secondary and higher education was evaded by the extensive use made of a loophole in the German regulations which allowed the reopening of technical schools. The enormous loss of artisans and professionally trained persons incurred by the annihilation of the Jewish inhabitants compelled even the power-mad Nazis to recognize the need for training Ukrainians in such occupations. A large number of technical secondary schools, agricultural schools, and even institutes of higher education like medical faculties, were permitted. The extent to which these facilities were utilized by the Ukrainian population is indicated by the fact that the enrollment of the Kiev medical institute reached 2,000 in 1943 when the total population of the city was only 300,000, while Kherson, with a fifth

[35] Report of Rosenberg to Hitler, August 11, 1942, PS 42 (hereafter referred to as PS 42); PS 1198.

[36] E.g., in Berdichev (*Nastup*, September 20, 1941, p. 3, quoting *Nova Doba* [Berdichev] for September 1), Zhitomir (Iefremenko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 1, 1941), and Belaia Tserkov' (*Nationalist*, December 20, 1941, p. 2).

their career and the assurance of a good income for the meagre appointments as an official. It is sufficient just to glance at the statistics of the Russian Empire in order to realize what a gigantic increase in the development of civilization was reached by the effort of the Russian intellectuals and specialists. Public instruction had developed in these fifty years to an enormous extent, infant mortality had fallen by more than 60 per cent, epidemics had experienced a great fall, as also cattle diseases, and the yield of the land had increased in the southern regions by more than 30 per cent. The improvement of the different breeds of horses and cattle was already evident on the eve of the Great War.

The backward country which Russia was supposed to be in the eyes of Westerners, including also the Ukraine, had in 1912 a big network of telephone lines in the country and especially in the region of Vinnitza, where the organization of the Zemstvos was especially active.

As to the river system, as we have already seen, it is very poor and is limited to four rivers, the Dnieper, the Dniester, the Boug, and the Donietz, of which the Dnieper alone is of any interest. The transport capacity of this one important river has been for ever spoiled by the rapids which make navigation impossible along a considerable distance. It is only after the building of the *Dnieprogues*, whose gigantic barrage had submerged the rapids along a distance of about one hundred kilometres, that an uninterrupted river route was established, linking the upper Dnieper with the Black Sea.

This river drains the greater part of the Ukraine and has left its mark upon the whole historic and economic evolution of the country.

Before the Great War the annual tonnage of transports

175 186 greatest Ukrainian poet), Mykola Kostomarov, historian, Panteleimon Kulish, historian and poet, Mykola Hulak, and others, took part in this organisation.

In the declarations of this society the idea of an independent Ukrainian democratic republic was promulgated: "And Ukraine will resurrect from her grave ... And Ukraine will be an independent republic" (*The Books of the Being of the Ukrainian Nation*, the work of the Society of St. Cyrill and Methodius).

The Russian Government punished the members of this society severely and acted rigorously against Ukrainian political and cultural regeneration.

[191] In 1863 the Russian Minister Valuyev declared that "the Ukrainian language did not exist, does not exist and cannot exist." In 1876, by a secret order of the Tsar, the printing and circulation of Ukrainian books, periodicals etc. in the Russian Empire was prohibited. Even the Bible in Ukrainian was forbidden. Ukrainian could not be tought in schools. The Ukrainian press in the Russian Empire was forbidden until 1905. Only the revolution of 1917 made the introduction of Ukrainian in schools possible. This prohibition of the living language of a considerable nation, the instrument of its culture, had disastrous consequences for the Ukrainian people and is a feature absolutely unique in universal history.

● [871] 175 517 The prohibition of the Ukrainian language in the schools and in the press hindered the development of education in Ukraine. The statistics show that the number of schools and the level of education in Ukraine were higher in the 18th century than in the 19th*). On the other hand, the Russian schools separated the educated classes of the Ukrainian nation from their nationality, and put the intelligentsia of Ukrainian origin into the service of Russian culture. Thus, besides the economic exploitation to the advantage of the Russian Empire, Ukraine was deprived of her best intellectual forces which were drowned in the 'Russian Sea'. We can quote here only some names of prominent Ukrainians who, by virtue of circumstances, helped to create the Russian civilisation, and gave their talents for the increase of the Russian Empire: Archbishop Theophan Prokopovych, the deputy of the Patriarch of Moscow Stephan Javorsky, Bishop Dmytro Rostovsky — were prominent Ukrainian scholars of the time of Tsar Peter I. who were forced

*) Thus there were in 1748 in four regiments (Ukraine had a military Cossack administration) of the Hetmanate (for three regiments the figures are missing) 866 elementary schools, i. e., one school for 1000 inhabitants. From this, little or almost nothing remained in the 19th century.

the industrialisation of Russia. The production of the heavy industries in Ukraine gave in 1931 63% of the whole output of coal, 83% of the production of coke and 77% of iron ore of the USSR (*Izvestia:* Moscow, March 1, 1932). "The production of the Ukrainian plants solves the entire problem of metals in the whole Soviet Union" — the Kharkov *Communist* wrote on October 13, 1931. With these demands on the Ukrainian national economy Moscow placed the workers of Ukraine in the worst conditions. In the wage index the Ukrainian metal workers stood in 1931 in the 11th place, the miners in the 19th, the coke workers in the 27th place (*Izvestia:* Moscow, February 1, 1932). The conditions of work, dwelling, social insurance and cultural service of the workers in Ukraine were much worse than in Russia.

The forced collectivisation of the Ukrainian agriculture, started in 1929/30, caused horrible devastation among the Ukrainian peasants. Not less than 200,000 farms were destroyed, their property was taken into the collective farms (*Communist*, Kharkov, December 21, 1934). The owners of these farms, the so-called 'kulaks', were deported together with their families into the North of Russia, where they mostly died of hunger and disease caused by forced labour. If one counts a normal Ukrainian peasant family at least 6 persons the number of those ruined and destroyed by this collectivisation reached 1,200,000 persons. In reality the number of the victims of Stalin's 'General Line' was much greater.

This 'liquidation of the kulaks as a class' has not only taken the lives of millions of Ukrainian farmers: it has destroyed the best elements among the peasants. These peasants were no 'exploiters': they were able farmers who tilled their land in the sweat of their brows and produced grain for their families and for the market. Due to this absurd and cruel 'liquidation of the kulaks' the shortages in the supply of agricultural products grew enormously.

Simultaneously with the 'General Line' the centralisation in Ukraine to Moscow's advantage was tightened: in the administration, in both economy and cultural work. In November 1929, the Commissariat of Agriculture of Ukraine was abolished and Ukrainian agriculture was subordinated directly to Moscow. The autonomy of Ukraine in the field of education was considerably restricted; in 1931 the separate Commissariat of the Interior in Ukraine was abolished; in 1933 the Commissariat of Justice was subordinated to Moscow, etc.

According to the directives from Moscow the Ukrainian culture had to be 'national in form, Communist in content'. Therefore

871 every teacher in the schools in Ukraine had orders to spread Com-
650 munist propaganda, to fight the appearance of national discontent with the Russian rule by every means, and was obliged to insult the
[814] struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation. In schools, Ukrainian history was falsely interpreted as well as in literature and in films. For instance, clinging to the tradition taken from Tsarist Russia, the Hetman of Ukraine Ivan Mazeppa who at the beginning of the 18th century wanted to free Ukraine from Muscovite dependence, has in Soviet historiography the epithet of a 'traitor' and 'reactionary'. But Tsar Peter I. and Tsar Ivan the Terrible, are glorified by Soviet school and science as 'progressive democratic rulers'.

659 The Ukrainian religious life under the régime of Soviet Russian
661 occupation had to suffer from special persecutions. In 1921, in Soviet Ukraine the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Autocephal Church, independent of the Moscow Patriarch, was organised. This Church, headed by its idealistic leaders, the Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, former Premier of the Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in 1918—19 and others, completed a great task for the cultural and moral improvement of the Ukrainian nation. Moscow attempted to destroy the strong organisation of the Ukrainian Autocephal Church with the help of its agents, but did not succeed in this. Then the Soviet Government ruined by bloody repressions the Ukrainian Church after having destroyed its entire hierarchy and masses of its followers (1929).

661 In connection with the 'General Line' which had placed unbear-
517 able burdens on Ukrainian economy, a mass discontent against Moscow increased among the Ukrainians. The ruthless economic
815 exploitation and political oppression by Russia caused, among the Ukrainian people, a permanent oppositon which appeared in various forms. Therefore, the Moscow Government decided to terrorise the Ukrainian intelligentsia which bore the brunt of the political efforts of the Ukrainian nation. For this purpose a number of trials against the most prominent representatives of Ukrainian science and social life were arranged; the case of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine with the participation of the prominent member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Serhy Yefremov, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, former Premier, Professor Osyp Hermayze and others in Kharkov, in spring 1930. Thousands of innocent people, especially students, perished in the prisoners' cells of the GPU without any trial. Simultaneously, the Ukrainian Academy of Science was exposed to repressions. In place of the imprisoned or expelled members of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, the Communists
appointed their own people though without scientific merits,
46 but politically faithful to Moscow.

Ukrainians where they died in masses from insufficient food and disease. The Polish Government abolished in Galicia most of the Ukrainian schools which had existed in the times of Austrian rule. In the schools in Galicia, Volhynia and other Ukrainian territories, the Polish authorities conducted a forced Polonisation. The Ukrainian University that had been created in Lviw in 1920 privately was suppressed by the Polish Government. Simultaneously, the admission of Ukrainians to Polish Universities was made extraordinarily diffucult. State officials of Ukrainian nationality were dismissed in masses by the Polish Government, and new applicants were not accepted. Even the national name 'Ukrainian' the Polish Government did not recognise and ordered the use officially only of the archaic name 'Ruthenian'. At the elections to the Polish Diet and Senate in 1928, for the first time under Polish rule, the Ukrainians of Galicia took part. The Ukrainian population gave its voices at the elections for two parties: the party of the democratic centre (UNDO — Ukrainian National Democratic Union — under the leadership of Dmytro Levytsky) and the Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party, led by Ivan Makukh.

After the termination of the Polish-Ukrainian war in 1919, on the Western Ukrainian territories economic reconstruction by the Ukrainian population themselves began, predominantly in the form of co-operative societies. In 1924 in Lviw the Central Co-operative Bank was founded, and a central institution for all co-operative societies organised *(Centro-Soyuz)*. The Ukrainian co-operative movement in Poland was headed by the Revisional Association of Co-operatives, which had about 500,000 members and had more than 12,000 employees. The Association of Ukrainian Dairy Co-operation *(Maslosoyuz)*, supplied dairy products, not only for the Polish market, but exported many of its products to the countries of Western Europe.

The Polish Government looked on the Ukrainian economic activity with displeasure and tried to hinder the development of Ukrainian co-operative societies and private economic initiative. In 1934, by order of the Polish Government, the operations of the Revisional Association of the Ukrainian Co-operatives were limited only to Galicia. Ukrainian co-operative societies in other Ukrainian territories in Poland, about 450, were forced to be subordinated to Polish co-operative centres.

The Warsaw Government carried on a systematic colonisation in the overpopulated Ukrainian territories. The Ukrainian peasants were excluded from the right of land reform. Having no opport-

which was led by General Kornilov, later by Denikin. In the summer of 1918 the Kuban Region fell into the hands of the Russian Volunteer Army. The leaders of this army wished to make the Kuban Region a base for the restoration of Tsarist Russia. Among the population of the Kuban Region and in the State Council a strong opposition to the Russian Volunteers arose. But Russian influence was stronger: under the pressure of Denikin's army an alliance of the Cossack territories — the Don, Kuban and Terek regions — for the fight against the Russian Communists was formed at the end of 1918. Against those Ukrainian Kuban Cossacks who defended their independence the Russian Volunteers used terroristic methods: President of the Kuban State Council Mykola Ryabovol was murdered in June 1919 in Rostov, prominent members of the State Council were arrested and hanged. This terror by the Russian 'Whites' was the reason that the Kuban Cossacks left the front against the Russian Red Army and repealed the alliance with the Russian Volunteers. At the beginning of 1920 the Kuban State Council according to the will of the population took the Government of the Kuban into its hands. Vasyl Ivanys was appointed Premier. The Kuban leaders wished to get rid of the protectorate of the Russian Volunteers and to continue the struggle against the Soviet Russian Army in alliance with Ukraine and the peoples of the Caucasus. But in April 1920, under pressure of the Soviet Russian Army, the Kuban Government was forced to leave its territory and to move to Crimea, where at that time the Volunteers' Army of General Wrangel was. Being pressed between two forces, both of which fought for domination in Russia, the 'Red' and the 'White' Russians, the Ukrainian Kuban Government could not attain any agreement with them and went abroad.

The Kuban Region was occupied by the Russian Red Army. Soviet Russia refused recognition of the Ukrainian nationality in the Kuban Region for a long time, and carried on a Russification line through the school and press. Only on August 30, 1929, the Commissariat of Education in Moscow decided that the literary language of the Ukrainians inside the boundaries of the Russian Soviet Republic was the language of Ukraine.

But even after this the Russian Communist bureaucracy hindered the development of schools among the Ukrainians in the RSFSR. In December 1933, in the Kuban Region and on other territories of the RSFSR, with a Ukrainian population of 7 millions, all Ukrainian schools, press etc. were abolished by order from Moscow. During the collectivisation and the famine of 1932—33 the population of the Kuban Region had enormous losses. Attempts on a rising

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

The high percentage of literates in Novorossiya (Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav) is due to the presence of German colonists. In ten Great-Russian Governments (Pskov, Penza, Simbirsk, Tambov, Smolensk, Orel, Kaluga, Riazan, Tula, and Nijni Novgorod) there are 16,302,000 inhabitants, of whom 16·9 per cent. can read and write. Since the census of 1897, education in the Ukraine has been rapidly spreading, thanks chiefly to the *zemstvos*, who supported about half the existing schools. In the Government of Poltava the *zemstvos* spent in 1900 as much as 20 per cent. of their income on education. According to the statistics of Yasnopolski, who bases his calculations on the reports of the Central Statistical Committee in Petrograd, and brings his figures down to 1910, the percentage of literates is as follows: Taurida, 38 per cent.; Kherson, 35; Yekaterinoslav, 29; Chernigov, 25; Kiev, 24; Kharkov, 23; Poltava, 23; Volhynia, 23; Podolia, 20.

Within the territories of the nine Governments which form the Ukraine, there are three universities and several higher educational institutions in Odessa, in Kiev, and in Kharkov. The language and administration are Russian, though Kiev has Chairs of Ukrainian Language and History, recently instituted; and they all gather, especially at Kiev, a fair number of Ukrainian scholars. The three university towns form centres round which other schools are grouped. Kiev is the centre for the South-west Territory, i. e. the Governments of Kiev, Podolia, and Volhynia; Odessa is the centre for Novorossiya, i. e. the Governments of Kherson, Taurida, and Yekaterinoslav; and Kharkov is the centre for Malorossiya, i. e. the Governments of Chernigov, Poltava, and Kharkov. On the whole, education is most advanced in Novorossiya, and Odessa has the greatest number of schools (420), secondary and primary. The Government of Kharkov is very poor in schools, though Kharkov itself possesses about 111; next come the Governments of Podolia, Poltava, and Volhynia.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1
Soviet Union R1

those the minorities possessed; and the necessity for knowing Russian would be heightened by drawing the minorities into the industrial, commercial and political life of the country as a whole. Meanwhile, literacy in the minority languages would facilitate the spread of communist doctrines stressing the international solidarity of the working-class against capitalism. To achieve unity while allowing the free use of minority languages might be the long — and perhaps very dangerous — way around, but Lenin believed it would be the only effective way in a backward, heterogeneous country like Russia.

The Soviet leaders were so certain that eventual lingustic uniformity could be attained only through temporary diversity that they went further in emphasizing minority languages than any state has ever gone: they made vigorous attempts to foster the actual use of the minority languages, to "nationalize" (i.e., "Ukrainize," "Armenianize," "Tartarize") political organizations, administrative apparatus, factory managements, trade-unions, military units, newspapers, books, theatres and schools, among the minorities. In their desire to retreat from the old Imperial policy of Russification, they leaned over so far backward that they introduced the element of compulsion in the opposite direction: they forced the national minorities and the Russians living among them to use the local languages in political, economic and cultural life, stopping short only at the threshold of the individual's private world. The ultimate effect of this policy upon the increase or decrease of nationalism among the minorities is not yet apparent, and the fate of such nationalism may hinge upon such factors as economic prosperity, political liberty and developments in the field of international relations; but the process of nationalizing the political, economic and cultural life of the minorities is an experiment which deserves more attention from the non-Soviet political and scholarly world than it has received.

In the field of education, the Soviet régime has followed a four-fold policy: first to establish a school system embracing all children; secondly, to promote the spread of communist doctrines by integrating them into the curriculum; thirdly, to nationalize the school system by introducing the languages of the minorities as the languages of instruction in schools attended by children of the minorities; and, fourthly, to pave the way for eventual assimilation by providing for the study of Russian as a separate subject in the schools of the minorities. The first two aspects of this policy are complex subjects, each of which deserves a separate study. The present discussion will therefore treat only of the linguistic phases of the Soviet educational policy: the nationalization of education — that is, the use of minority

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1
Soviet Union R1

languages as the media of instruction; and the study of Russian as a separate subject.

In setting out to nationalize education, the Soviet régime has encountered many obstacles: Russian nationalists — and there were some even among the Communists — opposed the policy; text-books and teachers were scarce; and the more backward minorities did not even possess a written language of their own. As the exigencies of space prevent the investigation of all the problems encountered in the nationalization of education, this study will be limited to examining the policy as applied in the Ukraine; that is, to the Ukrainians and to the other minorities — Poles, Jews, Germans and others — living among them. The Ukrainians, it may be noted, are the largest minority in the Soviet Union; they are the most significant from the point of view of current international relations; and the difficulties encountered by the nationalization policy in the Ukraine were sufficiently complex to provide some insight into the policy as a whole.

Among the Ukrainians, as among the other minorities, the nationalization of education has stemmed from the program on the national question which Lenin formulated before the overthrow of the Tsarist régime. This program, intended to overcome minority nationalism, had to assign a conspicuous place to the language question. To many Ukrainians the treatment of their language by the Imperial government appeared even more onerous than the political oppression which was meted out to Russians and Ukrainians alike. The Ukrainian language was regarded by the government as an uncouth dialect of the Russian language; it was harried from the schools; and it was badgered throughout the literary, scholarly and theatrical worlds. The resulting Ukrainian nationalism, Lenin believed, was a threat to the international unity of the Ukrainian and Russian masses, a unity he regarded as essential for the achievement of socialism; and this Ukrainian nationalism would have to be met with the promise of linguistic equality for the Ukrainians and for all other nationalities. This conception was written into the program on the national question adopted by the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1913, a program which was first intended to apply to a period of "capitalist democracy" but was retained after the establishment of the Soviet government in 1917. The first point in the program stated: "Insofar as national peace is possible in a capitalist society, which is based on exploitation, profits and wrangling, such peace is obtainable only by means of a thoroughly, consistently democratic, republican governmental structure, guaranteeing complete equality to all nations and languages, and by the inclusion in the con-

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

stitution of a basic law nullifying every kind of privilege of one nation and every kind of violation of the right of the national minorities."[2]

While defending this point in the program, Lenin explained that he did not desire to turn Russia into a "Babelesque confusion" in which one national group could not communicate with another; and he thought that sooner or later the minorities of Russia would become assimilated, probably through adopting the Russian language he cherished so highly and which he expected would be taught as a subject in the schools.[3] However, Lenin argued, such assimilation could be achieved not by compulsion, not by the Tsarist method of repression, but by the natural process of commercial and industrial development and intercourse. To force the minorities to study the Russian language by "the use of the stick" merely estranged them and turned them against that language. If, on the other hand, the minorities were allowed to use their own language in education, they would willingly accept the study of Russian also and would, as in America, voluntarily use it because of its advantage in economic intercourse. Hence, wherever minorities lived compactly, their languages would be used as the medium of instruction in the schools; and where members of minorities were isolated among other nationalities, they would be given the opportunity to study the language of their nationality.

Although the Provisional Government, ushered in by the February Revolution in 1917, intended to alter the policy of Russification and proclaimed linguistic freedom for the minorities, it did not succeed in overcoming the hostility of the minority nationalists who were then rapidly extending their influence among the peasantry. The Provisional Government, for example, wrangled with the Ukrainian nationalists not only on the question of political autonomy, but also on the expediency of Ukrainizing some of the army units; and in the Ukraine itself the former Tsarist officials remaining at their posts obstructed the Ukrainization of the school system. As the discontent of the peasantry with the land policy of the Provisional Government fed the flames of Ukrainian nationalism, Lenin was more than ever resolved to overcome minority hostility by, among other things, establishing linguistic equality.

After the October Revolution had put the Bolsheviks in control, the Soviet régime introduced into the schools the policy of national

[2] *VKP(b) v Rezoljucijach i Rešenijach S'ezdov, Konferencii i Plenumov Ts.K., 1898–1932* (Moscow, 1933), I, 238–240.

[3] For the views of Lenin contained in this paragraph, see Lenin, V. I., *Sočinenija* (Moscow, 1935), XVI, pp. 509, 551–554, 595–596; XVII, pp. 66, 89, 114–115, 133, 139–154, 178–181, 361.

languages as the medium of instruction. Lenin stigmatized as "Great-Russian Chauvinists," those people in the Commissariat of Education who favored teaching only in the Russian language; and referring specifically to the Ukrainians in a resolution he wrote for the Central Committee of the Communist Party, he stated that if the Bolsheviks wanted to overcome the hostility of the Ukrainian peasants (a hostility quite clearly evident during the Civil War from 1918 to 1920), the Ukrainian language could not be pushed into the background of either educational or political life.[4] Stalin argued that education in the minority languages would facilitate the raising of the cultural level of the minorities to that of the Russians and would thereby forge bonds of union between them.[5] The educational policy for the minorities, he stated, must have it as its aim: "to develop national culture; to build up a wide network of courses and schools for both general education and vocational and technical training, teaching in the native languages, for the purpose of training Soviet, party, trade-union and economic cadres from among the native people."[6] These views of Lenin and Stalin were incorporated into party resolutions, adopted in the decade after 1919, on education and on national policy generally.[7]

It was, of course, much easier to make speeches and pass resolutions than to realize the aims set forth therein. Even in the relatively advanced Ukraine it promised to be very difficult to establish a "wide network" of schools giving instruction in the national languages. The heritage of buildings, school supplies and qualified teachers bequeathed by Tsarism was meager in comparison with the needs of a régime aspiring to universal education: in the Kiev Educational District, for example, only twenty-two of every thousand people attended school in 1913.[8] Educational facilities, moreover, were reduced by the disastrous Civil War, during which constant fighting, famine, typhus, cholera, economic collapse and bankruptcy levied a high tax on the educational system; and the lack of funds and personnel long hampered its recuperation.[9] By 1924 the system approached its status

[4] *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 155, 552–554.

[5] J. Stalin, *Stati i Reči ob Ukraine* (Kiev, 1936), pp. 111–112, 194–195.

[6] J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (New York, 1935), p. 208.

[7] *VKP(b) v Rezoljucijach . . .* I, pp. 155, 637.

[8] The Kiev Educational District comprised the provinces of Kiev, Poltava, Podolia, Volhynia and Chernigov. The number of pupils is from Ministerstvo Narodnogo Prosvieshcheniia, *Vsepodanneiši Otčet, 1912* (St. Petersburg, 1915), p. 196. The estimate of the population is from Centralny Statističeski Komitet, *Ežegodnik Rossii, 1912* (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 33–59.

[9] For the condition of the educational system up to 1924, see *Urkainska Socialistična Radianska Respublika. Zbirnik Spravozdan Narodnich Komisarijativ i centralnich ustanov U.S.R.R. ta Upolnivažen ich Narodnich Komisarijativ R.S.F.S.R. 5-mu Vseukrainskomu Z'izdovi Rad Ukraini. Otčet Narodnogo Komisariati Osviti U.S.R.R. za 1920 rik* (*Kharkov*,

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

under Tsarism, but a long road had to be travelled before all children would have an opportunity to attend schools. Buildings would have to be constructed, teachers trained, text-books written and published. The Ukrainian government first endeavored to provide "elementary" or four-year schools for all children from eight to twelve years of age, then to expand these schools into "incomplete middle" or seven-year schools, and finally to replace these with "complete middle" or ten-year schools; and, in the meanwhile, the government established technical schools and higher educational institutions to train engineers, doctors, actors and other types of "socialist cadres." This quantitative growth of the school system was matched by its growth qualitatively, as measured from the point of view of the language policy. In spite of the shortages of teachers knowing Ukrainian and the languages of the other minorities, the almost complete absence of text-books in these languages, and the appearance of considerable opposition on the part of political leaders, of teachers and even of parents, the Russian language was gradually replaced as the medium of instruction by the other languages.

As early as March 1919 an order of the Commissariat of Education of the newly re-established Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic declared that the Russification policy was abrogated; that the Commissariat would aid in the development of the long-repressed Ukrainian language; and that "in view of the elimination of a governmental language as such, and of the declaration that all local languages are equal, the Commissariat of Education gives the local population the right to determine in which language teaching must be carried on in the schools, safeguarding simultaneously the interests of [other] national groups."[10] Wherever the language of instruction remained Russian, a second language — also chosen by the local population itself — was to be taught as a special subject. In September 1920 this provisional order was strengthened by a law of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. The law instructed the Commissariat of Education to draw up a plan for schools of all grades and categories with Ukrainian as the language of instruction.[11] Ukrainian was to be studied as an obligatory subject in all teacher-training institutions and was to be used as the language of instruction in some of them. The law also ordered the Government Publishing House to issue "a sufficient quantity of text-books as well as *belles-lettres* and other publications in the Ukrainian language."

1921), pp. 3–6; *Zbirnik Uzakonen ta Rosporiadžen Robitničo-Seljanskogo Urjady Ukraini za 1924 rik*, 1924, part 1, sec. 271, pp. 800–803; Sojuz Robotnikov Prosveščenija S.S.S.R., *Pjatyssesojuznyi S'ezd Sojuza Robotnikov Prosveščenija S.S.S.R. Stenografičeski Otčet* (Moscow, 1925), pp. 172–174.

[10] *Zbirnik Uzakonen . . .*, 1919, sec. 260, p. 347.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1920, part 1, sec. 509, pp. 712–713.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

● 891.0 191 456 During 1923 and 1924 several laws designed to provide elementary education for all children specified that this education was to be conducted in Ukrainian where that nationality predominated, and in the languages of the "national minorities" (minorities within the Ukrainian nationality — Poles, Germans, Jews, Czechs and so forth) wherever these minorities formed compact groups.[12] The laws outlined a series of practical measures to make this rule effective: teachers knowing Ukrainian were to be assigned to schools in which they were needed; text-books and other reading materials in Ukrainian were to be increased; pedagogical schools and courses were to be transferred to Ukrainian; pedagogical journals were to be Ukrainized; and all classes for teaching illiterates and semi-literates, except those for the non-Ukrainian minorities, were to be conducted in Ukrainian. Provision was also made for the obligatory study of Ukrainian as a separate subject in all schools being conducted in other languages.

These laws gave impetus to the process of Ukrainizing the "general" (elementary, incomplete middle and middle) schools; and the process was aided by the presence of many nationalists who had formerly opposed the Soviet régime but who had been pardoned and put to work in the Commissariat of Education. In 1923, according to a newspaper report, 47 percent of the general schools had been Ukrainized, while plans had been made to provide the Ukrainian pupils with Ukrainian schools by 1925.[13] During the years from 1923 to 1925 the realization of these plans was proceeding most effectively in the rural areas, where the largest proportion of the Ukrainian population was to be found. In the province of Kharkov, for example, 20 percent of the general schools in the school year 1923–24 were still using Russian and 49 percent were "mixed schools" — schools using Russian in some classes and Ukrainian in others; but 69 percent of the schools in the city of Kharkov were still using Russian exclusively.[14] A picture of the manifold difficulties encountered in this transitional period was presented by the district of Krolevetski in the province of Chernigov.[15] In 1924 instruction in the elementary schools was supposed to be given in Ukrainian; but a majority of the teachers hardly knew the language, and they actually used a jumble of Ukrainian and Russian. In the middle schools the situation was worse: a majority of the teachers not only did not know Ukrainian, but considered themselves exempt from learning it because they had been former

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[12] *Ibid.*, 1923, part 1, sec. 430, pp. 896–899; 1924, part 1, sec. 272, p. 801; 1924, part 1, sec. 300, pp. 932–933.

[13] *Visti* (organ of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and of the Kharkov Provincial Executive Committee), Oct. 28, 1923.

[14] *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1923; see also *ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1924. [15] *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1924.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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teachers in the gymnasium and therefore possessed "higher qualifications"; and these teachers showed "active or passive resistance" to Ukrainization. In this district, as in many others, the complaint was made that the schools lacked Ukrainian text-books and other such reading materials.[16]

[214]

These difficulties were gradually being overcome. By 1924 the publication of text-books and children's literature in Russian had almost ceased in the Ukraine, and the publishing houses were concentrating on Ukrainian materials.[17] Ukrainian was being taught in all pedagogical schools and teacher-training courses.[18] The results of this step were apparent in 1925. In Chernigov province, for example, 67 percent of the teachers had mastered Ukrainian, and the proportion of Ukrainian schools — which then stood at 54 percent — was being raised as rapidly as the teachers who had recently learned Ukrainian could be transferred to the districts where they were needed.[19]

During 1925 and 1926 the whole process of Ukrainization was raised to the status of a "high-pressure (*udarnaja*) campaign." Attention was directed even to the *crèches* because, as one writer explained, the early years of a child's life are of the utmost significance in his linguistic development.[20] But a report from Chernigov in 1926 stated that the teachers were agitating among the peasantry against the Ukrainization of the schools; they were "striving with all their forces to discredit the Ukrainian language, to arouse the peasants to adopt resolutions against Ukrainizing the schools, and so on."[21] This was denied by the school officials in the region from which the report emanated,[22] but similar items of news came from other regions. One writer cited a specific teacher in the Don Basin: although she was supposed to teach the Ukrainian language as a separate subject, she could hardly speak it and she referred to it as "a terribly ugly and crude language."[23] Another reporter, again from Chernigov, produced evidence to illustrate the hostility of both parents and teachers: because of this hostility a region with an overwhelmingly Ukrainian population contained thirty-five Russian schools, one Ukrainian and one mixed school.[24]

[16] See *ibid.*, Mar. 4, 1924, Mar. 5, 1924.
[17] *Ibid.*, Mar. 5, 1924. [18] *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1923.
[19] *Kommunist* (organ of the Central Committee and of the Kharkov Provincial Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine), Mar. 21, 1925.
[20] *Proletarska Pravda* (organ of the Kiev Regional Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine, of the Kiev Regional Executive Committee and of the Kiev Regional Trade-Union Council), Aug. 26, 1926.
[21] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1926. [22] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1926.
[23] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1926. [24] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1926.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

However, the Ukrainization of education slowly approached its goal. It is impossible to determine the actual number of Ukrainian children studying in Ukrainian schools, for the school statistics contained only the total number of children studying in Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and other schools; and while some Ukrainian children studied in non-Ukrainian schools, many non-Ukrainian children studied in Ukrainian schools. However, an approximate idea of the extent of Ukrainization can be gained by comparing the proportion of school children in Ukrainian schools with the proportion of Ukrainians in the total population. According to the school census of December, 1927, ten years after the Bolshevik Revolution, 75.8 percent of all pupils in elementary schools were in schools conducted entirely in Ukrainian; 6.9 percent were in schools in which some classes were conducted in Ukrainian and some in other languages; and 10.6 per cent were in Russian schools.[25] As the Ukrainians in 1927 were estimated at 80.1 percent of the total population and the Russians at 9.2 percent, the elementary schools might be considered to be nearing the goal of Ukrainization. The seven-year schools, then the predominant type of middle schools, lagged behind the elementary schools because they were relatively more numerous in the Russianized cities; of the pupils in these schools, 60.7 per cent were in Ukrainian schools, 14.7 percent in mixed schools and 15.5 per cent in Russian schools.

In some places, particularly in some cities, the Ukrainization policy overshot its mark. Whereas the Ukrainian population of Kiev was estimated at 41.1 percent of the total population in 1927, 49.8 percent of its school children were attending Ukrainian schools, 5.9 percent mixed schools and 30.6 percent Russian schools.[26] The proportion of pupils in Ukrainian schools was also greater than the proportion of the Ukrainian population in Odessa and Dnepropetrovsk. This situation, as shall be noted below, was regarded unfavorably by some writers in the newspapers, but the charges of "over-Ukrainization" received little attention from the government until after 1933. During the period from 1923 to 1933 the government was concentrating its efforts upon suppressing Russian nationalism and upon providing the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nationalities with schools conducted in their own languages.

In this period much attention was also given to the Ukrainization of technical and higher educational institutions, but in these institutions the lack of teachers knowing Ukrainian, of text-books and of good-will was an even greater handicap than in the Ukrainization of

[25] *Statistika Ukraini. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini na 15 Grudnja 1927 (Peperedni Pidsumki Škilnogo Perepisy)*, Kharkov, 1928, pp. 20–21. [26] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

At this time, when the whole problem of Ukrainizing the highly Russianized Don Basin and other industrial regions in the Ukraine was being attacked, the failure to Ukrainize the school system was frequently mentioned.[41] Even a directive of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, in January 1930, stated that in the industrial regions only the schools for general education and for extirpating illiteracy had been Ukrainized; and the directive ordered the Commissariat of Education to examine the faculty members of the technical and higher schools on their knowledge of Ukrainian, and to take steps to insure that these people possessed such a knowledge.[42]

During 1930 and 1931 the reports on the Ukrainization of technical and higher schools were limited largely to items of "self-criticism" which pointed out obstacles or found fault with specific institutions and individuals. The professors in the Medical Institute in Kharkov now knew Ukrainian, but the process of Ukrainization was being retarded by the lack of Ukrainian text-books.[43] In the Lisenko Theatrical Institute in Kiev the classes were conducted in Ukrainian, but the reporter complained that extra-class work was still being carried on in Russian.[44] An investigation of the Institute of Consumer Coöperation and of the Veterinary Institute revealed that the majority of the students still spoke Russian among themselves and that two professors of the former institution refused to instruct their classes in Ukrainian.[45] Both professors and students in the Construction Institute and the Chemical Institute were reported to be hostile to the use of Ukrainian: one of the professors had been discharged for this reason, and the students had declared Ukrainization to be proper only for the middle schools. Because the library lacked Ukrainian books and only three of the hundred and twenty-two journals received were in Ukrainian, the administration of the Chemical Institute was upbraided for opposition to Ukrainization.[46] The Textile and Mining Institutes were also cited as examples of the failure to Ukrainize properly.[47]

The years up to 1933 constituted the high-pressure period of Ukrainization; after 1933 the government concentrated its attention chiefly upon suppressing the tendency to "over-Ukrainize," where such a tendency was discernible, and upon rectifying the results of this tendency which had already appeared. This was not a new pol-

[41] E. g., *Komsomolec Ukraini*, May 16, 1929, June 26, 1929.
[42] *Proletari*, Jan. 3, 1930. [43] *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1930.
[44] *Proletarska Pravda*, Sept. 22, 1931. [45] *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1931.
[46] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1931. [47] *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1931.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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icy; it was, rather, a change of emphasis from one part of the linguistic policy to another. Ukrainian schools for Ukrainian children remained, but now the stress was placed upon schools for the national minorities within the Ukrainian majority, and particularly for the Russian inhabitants of the Ukraine.

The Ukrainization of education, it has been noted, was not intended to apply to schools in areas where there were members of non-Ukrainian nationalities living compactly. On the contrary, the educational policy anticipated that every child should have an opportunity to study in his or her mother tongue. This was stated in all of the important legislation on the languages in the school system, beginning with the preliminary order of the Commissariat of Education in 1919.[48] A law of 1924 had altered the rule on the required size of classes, in order to facilitate the establishment of small schools serving scattered groups of the minority peoples.[49] Other laws and directives in the period from 1924 to 1928 contained clauses ordering increased funds for general and technical education for the minorities, the preparation of teachers for their schools and the publication of textbooks in their languages.[50] Steps were frequently taken by the Commissariat of Education to expand the network of schools serving these peoples.[51] The Commissariat contained a special Council of National Minorities, consisting of Jewish, Latvian, German, Polish, Bulgarian, Czech and Moldavian bureaus; and the provincial departments of education had inspectors for minority education, sometimes separate inspectors for German, Jewish, Polish or Czech schools.[52] Finally, the Communist Party itself, through its directives and the speeches of its leaders in the period from 1924 to 1928, constantly warned that during the process of Ukrainization the interests of the minorities were to be protected.[53]

Efforts to provide schools for the minorities received much publicity between 1924 and 1928. Only a few reports can be cited. In

[48] See especially *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . . , 1919, sec. 260, p. 347; 1927, part 1, sec. 157, pp. 626–627. See above pp. 129–130. [49] *Ibid.*, 1924, part 1, sec. 300, p. 933.

[50] E. g. *Visti*, Dec. 10, 1924; *Kommunist*, July 3, 1925; *Proletarska Pravda*, Apr. 8, 1928.

[51] E.g. *Visti*, Mar. 9, 1925; *Proletarska Pravda*, July 23, 1927.

[52] *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . . , 1925, part 1, sec. 218, p. 587; 1925, part 1, sec. 285, p. 10; 1926, part 1, sec. 106, p. 221.

[53] E.g. the directive of the Central Committee of the Party in *Kommunist*, May 21, 1925; the resolution of the Kiev Regional Party Committee in *Proletarska Pravda*, July 15, 1926; the speech of Liubchenko (chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars) in *ibid.*, May 11, 1926; speeches of Kaganovich (secretary of the Central Committee of the Party) and of Skripnik (Commissar of Education) and the resolution of the 10th Congress of the Party in *Desjati Z'izd Kommunističnoi Partii (Bil'shykiv) Ukraini, 20–29 Listopada 1927 p. Stenografičnii zvit* (Kharkov, 1928), pp. 126, 444, 574; the resolution of the All-Ukrainian Council of Trade-Unions in *Proletarska Pravda*, Apr. 7, 1928.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Chernigov the school assigned to the Jewish language — which in the Soviet Union means Yiddish rather than Hebrew — was using that language even before the schools for Ukrainian children were using Ukrainian.[54] A report from Kiev described a campaign undertaken to draw Polish students into the Polish Pedagogical Institute, into the Polish departments of the technical schools, and into other Polish educational units.[55] In the meanwhile, the Jewish Pedagogical Institute in Kiev was being moved into a new building provided by the Commissariat of Education, and elementary schools were being established for Czechs and Assyrians.[56] Dnepropetrovsk reported that its German school was being enlarged.[57] The city of Kharkov found it could not open a school for Koreans (!) because no teachers were available, and the Kharkov City Committee of the Party asked the Vladivostok City Committee and the Communist University of the Toiling East to supply a few Korean teachers.[58]

No evidence that Kharkov ever succeeded in opening a Korean school has come into the hands of the author; but in 1926 the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. complimented the Ukrainian Republic on its attention to the educational needs of the minorities; and the school statistics for 1927 indicated that a considerable number of children of the minorities were studying in their own languages. Of all the pupils in general (four and seven year) schools, 2.9 percent studied in Jewish schools; 1.4 percent in German schools; 0.9 percent in Polish schools and 0.8 percent in schools using other minority languages: Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Tartar, Swedish, Greek, Assyrian and Moldavian.[59] Schools using both Ukrainian or Russian and some other language or languages embraced 2.1 percent of all the pupils. Since Jews composed 5.4 percent of the total population, Poles 1.6 percent, Germans 1.4 percent and other minorities 2.1 percent, it is evident that many of the children of the smaller nationalities went to Ukrainian or Russian schools. This fact can probably be accounted for in part by the lack of buildings and teachers, by the scattered distribution of the smaller minorities and by the indifference of the smaller nationalities themselves. The Jews, for example, have tended to assimilate into the Russian nationality in the large cities and into the Ukrainian nationality in the smaller towns and villages. The younger generation of Jews favor Russian or Ukrainian as their social language, and many Jewish parents prefer to put their

[54] *Visti*, Oct. 2, 1924.
[55] *Ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1926.
[56] *Kommunist*, May 21, 1925.
[57] *Proletarska Pravda*, July 24, 1926.
[58] *Ibid.*, July 19, 1926.
[59] *Statistika Ukraina. Narodnia Osvita na Ukraini* . . . , pp. 20–25.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

871 563 656 children into Russian or Ukrainian schools. One reporter in 1933 gave evidence to show that some Jewish parents had desired their children to attend non-Jewish schools, but that pressure had been brought to bear upon them by zealous officials to send their children to the Jewish schools newly constructed for them.[60]

As an illustration of the attitude of the children themselves, an experience of the author may be pertinent. Upon visiting a Jewish school in Kiev, he observed that some of the pupils were carrying Russian text-books; and to the enquiry as to whether no Yiddish books existed for those subjects, several pupils replied: "Oh, yes; but we like to read the Russian texts better than the Yiddish." The school happened to be located in the old Jewish section of Kiev, and undoubtedly the children were sent to this school either because they spoke Yiddish at home (but not amongst themselves) or because of the superior facilities offered by a new institution; and if they had been able to decide for themselves, it is possible that many of these children would have chosen to attend Russian or even Ukrainian [191] schools. Russian is the language of a culture stronger than the secular non-Hebrew culture conveyed by the Yiddish language in the Soviet Union; Russian is also the language spoken in Moscow and generally throughout the U.S.S.R.; and all those pupils, and parents, too, who ever expect to move freely about the Union must have complete mastery of the Russian language. What is true of the Jews is also true of the Poles, Germans, Czechs and others.

874 563 191 That the children of the minorities had to master the Russian and Ukrainian languages if they desired to continue their education on the higher levels is indicated by the nature of the technical and higher educational institutions in the Ukraine. It was impossible to set up an electrical engineering institute for a handful of Poles or Assyrians, or to establish every type of higher educational institution for the Jews. Hence, as the statistics for 1927 indicated, most of the technical and higher educational institutions taught in Ukrainian, Russian or a mixture of the two. Of the students in the lower technical schools (technical schools other than technicums) only 1.4 percent studied in Jewish schools, 0.1 percent in Polish schools, 0.3 percent in German schools, 0.1 percent in the schools of other minorities, and 3.0 percent studied in schools that had one or more of the minority languages together with either Russian or Ukrainian or both.[61] There were no institutes using exclusively the non-Russian and non-Ukrainian minority languages, although 3.9 percent of the students studied

[60] *Proletarska Pravda*, Mar. 29, 1933.

[61] *Statistika Ukraina. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini* . . . , pp. 48-51.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

in institutes that conducted part of their work in Russian or Ukrainian and part in other languages. Of the students in the technicums, 1.5 percent studied in technicums using the Jewish language, 0.5 percent in those using Polish, 0.7 percent in those using German, 0.5 per cent in those using other non-Russian minority languages, and 0.5 percent in technicums using Russian or Ukrainian and one or more of the other languages. These figures do not signify that the Jewish, Polish or German children were deprived of a chance to study in technical and higher schools; on the contrary, the non-Russian and non-Ukrainian student body in these establishments, as will be noted below, was relatively larger than the Ukrainian and Russian student body.

The work of establishing schools using the languages of the smaller nationalities continued after 1927; in fact, it was given additional impetus by the campaign of 1933–35 against nationalist influences in the Ukrainian Commissariat of Education. But before examining the effects of this campaign, it is necessary to note the attitude toward Russian schools. At the core of the process of Ukrainization was the transformation of Russian into Ukrainian schools; and it was not surprising that there appeared in at least some areas a tendency to deprive the Russian-speaking population of an opportunity to study in Russian schools. This was, to be sure, not at all the intention of the government. In its decree in expanding general education, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee ordered that "special attention be directed toward assuring schools with instruction in the Russian language for all children of the Russian nationality."[62] But, as has been noted above, the proportion of pupils studying in Ukrainian schools in some places — especially in the larger cities — was greater than the proportion of Ukrainians in the population. A writer in *Proletarska Pravda* (*Proletarian Truth*) claimed in 1926 that the general schools in Kiev were being over-Ukrainized.[63] He was answered by another writer, who argued that whereas the criticism was based on an examination of the number of *schools*, there was still a larger proportion of *classes* being held in Russian than the proportion of Russians in the total population; and the second writer denounced the first for bringing grist to the mill of the enemies of the Soviet national policy.[64] The criticism was proven correct by the school statistics for 1927; but since the process of Ukrainization was in full swing and since at this time the Party considered the Russian nationalists

[62] *Zbirnik Uzakonen . . .*, 1926, part 1, sec. 453, p. 1246.
[63] *Proletarska Pravda*, Oct. 2, 1926. [64] *Ibid.*

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

in the Ukraine more dangerous than the Ukrainian variety, no additional attention was given to the problem of Russian children.

In 1933, however, the offensive against Ukrainian nationalism occasioned a review of the Ukrainization process. Ukrainian nationalism had been considered a dangerous force since 1926, when Shumskii and Khvilovoi — two important figures in the Ukrainian Commissariat of Education — were censured for desiring "to orient Ukrainian culture on capitalist Europe rather than on socialist Moscow." The Party became still more alert to signs of nationalism after the uncovering in 1929 of the Society for the Emancipation of the Ukraine, a secret organization headed by such outstanding nationalists as Efremov, Germaize and Nikovskii. But it was the campaign against the collectivization of agriculture which occasioned the intensive campaign against the nationalists. The Party regarded the opposition to collectivization as the result in large part of the nationalists, and it set out to remove them from every branch of political, economic and cultural activity. The central figure in the campaign was Nicholas Skripnik, an "Old Bolshevik" who was accused of having fallen under the influence of his nationalist colleagues and was removed from his position as Commissar of Education in March 1933. Even before his removal, however, the Commissariat of Education and all of its activities were under fire.

Charges of over-Ukrainization of the school system were first launched in an editorial appearing in *Kommunist* (the organ of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party) in February 1933, and reprinted in other newspapers. The editorial said: "The mistakes and perversions in realizing the Ukrainization of the schools led in a considerable number of places to neglecting and ignoring the interests of the national minorities and especially the needs and requirements of the Russian toiling masses living in the Ukraine. Among responsible circles of the Commissariat there was concocted the 'theory' that the majority of the children in the cities, small towns and other labor centers speak a mixed Ukrainian-Russian jargon, and that therefore the majority of these children should study in the Ukrainian language. As a result, a significant part of the Russian toiling masses were deprived of schools in their native language and actually subjected to the forced Ukrainization which the Party had condemned in all of its directives."[65] Shortly after this editorial appeared, an article in *Proletarska Pravda* stated that in Kiev only 49 percent of the Russian children and 30 percent of the Jewish children studied in schools conducted in their native languages; that although

[65] *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1933.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

some of the others studied in mixed Ukrainian-Russian or Ukrainian-Jewish schools, they were "mechanically transferred" after the first four years to classes using Ukrainian.[66]

Zatonski, who replaced Skripnik as Commissar of Education, stated that the Ukrainization of Russian children had taken place in Kharkov and in the Don Basin as well as in Kiev; and he pointed to Krasnolutzki District, where the number of Russian schools had dropped from twenty in 1930 to twelve in 1932.[67] He also declared that in Kherson and Makiivitz there were no Russian elementary schools at all; and that in some places there had been a voluntary Ukrainization of Russian children because the buildings and equipment provided for the Russian schools were greatly inferior to those of the Ukrainian schools.[68] Additional evidence was forthcoming in 1934 and 1935 to show some enforced Ukrainization of Polish children and of those of other minorities, as well as of some of the Russian children; and this situation was denounced as an example of "deliberate nationalist wrecking."[69]

This campaign against over-Ukrainization, however, was not intended to lead to a revival of the Russification policy. Kossior, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, was adamant on this point. He explained in 1933 that the results of over-Ukrainization would have to be eliminated because this was demanded by internationalism, "by the brotherly interests of the toilers of all the nationalities in the Ukraine."[70] But, he went on, the Russian nationalists would not be allowed to take advantage of mistakes already committed in order to reverse the policy of Ukrainization; on the contrary, there would be a further drive for "Bolshevik Ukrainization." A similar view was taken in 1934 by Postishev, the assistant secretary of the Central Committee and the official most actively engaged in hunting down the Ukrainian nationalists.[71]

According to the latest available material, the Ukrainization of education has kept pace with the expansion of general education, and a greater proportion of pupils were studying in Ukrainian schools in 1937 than in 1927. By 1937 the general schools embraced 5,364,800 children as compared with 1,678,100 in 1913 — an increase of 319 percent over the pre-War year; and whereas twenty-two of every thousand people attended elementary school in the Kiev Educational District in 1912, in 1937 the figure for all of the Ukraine had risen to

[66] *Ibid.*, Mar. 29, 1933. [67] *Visti*, May 1, 1933. [68] *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1933.
[69] *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1934 (speech of Zatonski); Aug. 22, 1934, Jan. 5, 1935.
[70] *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1933. [71] *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1934.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine

one hundred seventeen of every thousand people.[72] The middle schools had expanded greatly by 1937; the fifth to tenth grades embraced 1,927,100 pupils in 1937 as compared with 347,900 pupils in 1928, an increase of 554 percent in ten years.[73]

While the school system was expanding quantitatively, the number of children studying in Ukrainian schools was also increasing. During the school year 1935–36, the year that marked the end of the campaign to check over-Ukrainization, 83.0 percent of the pupils in the general schools were studying in the Ukrainian language. This percentage coincides roughly with the proportion of Ukrainians in the total population. It also represents a higher percentage of pupils in Ukrainian schools than attended such schools in 1927, a fact which resulted from the expansion of middle schools in the rural areas and from the decline in the number of children attending schools in some of the other languages. During the school year 1935–36, 12.7 percent of all the pupils in the general schools studied in Russian, 1.4 percent in Jewish, 1.3 percent in German, 0.5 percent in Moldavian and 0.5 percent in Polish schools.[74] In absolute numbers, there had been an increase between 1927 and 1935–36 in the pupils studying in the Russian, German, Moldavian, Tartar, Bulgarian and Greek languages; there had been a decline in the number of pupils studying in the Jewish, Polish, Swedish and Assyrian languages; and schools had been established for Uzbeks, Belorussians, Kirghiz, Kazaks, Turkomens and Latvians.[75]

With regard to the technical and higher educational institutions, the author has no figures on the number of students in the Ukrainized

[72] The figure for the number of pupils in 1937 is taken from *Socizlističeskoe Stroitelstvo Sojuza S.S.S.R., 1933–1938* gg. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939), p. 163.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[74] *Socialistična Ukraina. Statistični Zbirnik* (Kiev, 1937), p. 222.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 222. *Statistika Ukraini. Narodnja Osvita na Ukraini . . .*, pp. 20–26. A comparison of absolute figures for 1927 and 1935–36 must take into account that the statistics for 1927 gave the total number of pupils in mixed schools but not the number studying in various languages used in these schools. The number of pupils studying in the Russian, German, Moldavian, Tartar, Bulgarian and Czech languages in 1935–36 was greater than the number studying in their own schools in 1927 plus the total number in mixed schools using these languages for some classes. The conclusion that there was a decline in the total number of pupils studying in the Jewish, Polish, Assyrian and Swedish languages is arrived at by considering roughly the number of pupils in mixed schools studying in these languages. For example, in 1927 there were 68,836 pupils in Jewish schools; in 1935–36 there were 69,211 pupils studying in the Jewish language; hence, there were 375 more pupils *studying in Jewish* in 1935–36 than had been *attending Jewish schools* in 1927. But in 1927 there were 11,603 pupils in mixed schools using Jewish and either Russian or Ukrainian; in all probability there were more than 375 pupils in these schools who were being taught in Jewish; and by 1935–36 the surplus above 375 had been lost to Jewish classes, indicating a decline in the total number studying in Jewish.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

schools for the years after 1927; and one might conclude from the lack of such figures in the important statistical collections that Ukrainization has ceased or has been reversed. However, this conclusion would not be consistent with the continued stress on the preparation of "Ukrainian cadres," which was the primary purpose of Ukrainizing these institutions. The need for Ukrainian engineers, agronomists, writers and scientific workers was emphasized both by Kossior and by the resolution of the Thirteenth Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1937.[76] Kossior, moreover, stated that there had been a large increase in the number of Ukrainian professors, instructors, scientific workers and candidates for higher degrees. Finally, the number of students of Ukrainian nationality in the technical and higher schools had grown absolutely and relatively. Between 1927 and 1936 the total number of students in the technicums had increased from 29,300 to 133,300; in the workers' faculties, from 7,400 to 53,500; and in the institutes from 28,200 to 108,200.[77] The increase for the technicums was 455 percent, for the workers' faculties 722 percent and for the institutes 384 percent. In the meanwhile, the proportion of students of Ukrainian nationality in the technicums had risen from 58.0 to 75.3 percent; in the workers' faculties from 57.9 to 65.0 percent; and in the institutes from 48.8 to 53.7 percent.[78] The number of students from among the minorities had increased absolutely but had fallen relatively. Since the increasing proportion of the students were Ukrainians (probably chiefly graduates of Ukrainian general schools and therefore favorable to and easily adaptable to courses conducted in Ukrainian), and since the number of Ukrainian faculty members had risen, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the process of Ukrainizing the technical and higher institutions had continued even after the intensive campaign against the nationalists was undertaken in 1933.

As for the obligatory study of the Ukrainian language in the schools of the other nationalities — provided for in laws of 1920 and 1927[79] — no change has taken place. An order of the Commissariat of Education, issued in December 1940 and just received by the author, clearly indicates this fact. The order is designed to facilitate the study of Ukrainian by children who have come from other republics and, having entered non-Ukrainian schools, are handicapped in the study of

[76] *Visti*, May 30, 1937; June 6, 1937. [77] *Socialistična Ukraina* . . . , p. 133.

[78] The percentages for 1927 are taken from *Desjati Z'izd Kommunističnoi Partii (Bil'shovikiv) Ukraini* . . . , pp. 48–52. The percentages for 1936 are from *Socialistična Ukraina* . . . , p. 152.

[79] *Zbirnik Uzakonen* . . . , 1920, part 1, sec. 509, p. 713; 1927, part 1, sec. 157, p. 626.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

this subject.[80] Declaring that the mastering of Ukrainian is obligatory for these children as well as for all other pupils in non-Ukrainian schools, the order states that the younger ones shall be sent to lower grades to study Ukrainian; the older ones may continue along with their classmates, and are to be marked leniently in this subject; and all are to be given special assistance in their study of Ukrainian so that by the time they graduate they may be able to fulffill the requirements demanded of the other pupils. Hence, the campaign against nationalism has not altered this aspect of the Ukrainization policy.

Perhaps the most significant result of the campaign against the Ukrainian nationalists was the effort to point up the importance of the Russian language and the value of Russian culture for the Soviet Union's minorities. One aspect of this effort was the greater emphasis placed on the study of the Russian language in the non-Russian schools of the Ukraine. A thorough mastering of Russian, regarded as a "second" and not as a "foreign language," had long been intended by the Party leaders, and had been provided for in the legislation on education. The important law on the Ukrainization of education in 1923 stated that "because the Russian language has all-governmental and all-Union significance and because it joins the Ukrainian people to the culture of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," the study of Russian as an obligatory subject was to be retained in all Ukrainian schools.[81] In the schools of the non-Ukrainian minorities in the Ukraine, either Ukrainian or Russian was to be selected by the population as a subject for obligatory study. The basic statute on education issued in 1927 went still further: both the Ukrainian and the Russian languages were to be taught as obligatory subjects in *all* schools.[82] In explaining the purpose of this clause, Skripnik stated that "now — since the proletarian revolution — the Russian language, once a language of oppression, is the language in which are written the works of Lenin; now the Ukrainians regard it as a brotherly language containing great revolutionary compositions; and in order that after leaving school the Ukrainians may be able to make use of Russian culture, the Russian language is taught as an obligatory subject."[83] This statement, coming from the Commissar of Education, was of considerable importance; but it was later revealed that interest in the Russian language had been lost in the whirl of Ukrainization.

[80] *Zbirnik Nakaziv ta Rosporiadžen Narodnogo Komisariaty Osviti Ukrainskoi R.S.R.*, 1940, sec. 355, p. 14. [81] *Zbirnik Uzakonen . . .*, 1923, part 1, sec. 430, p. 900.
[82] *Ibid.*, 1927, part 1, sec. 157, p. 626. [83] *Proletarska Pravda*, May 9, 1926.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

In 1933 Zatonski censured the nationalists in the Commissariat of Education for neglecting the teaching of Russian which, because it was the means of all-Union communication, "should be taught in all the Ukrainian schools and in the schools of other nationalities."[84] But the real interest in the teaching of Russian appeared in 1937 and 1938, when the Commissariat was again over-hauled. During these years there was another intensified drive against Ukrainian nationalism, as well as against other varieties of opposition to the Party's policies and against every manifestation of inefficiency. Even Zatonskii was removed from his post. And while the renewed attack on nationalism in general was proceeding, a large amount of criticism was directed against the Commissariat of Education for its neglect of the Russian language as a subject of study. The critics — one of whom was E. N. Postnikova, a teacher and a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. — stated that because of "the wrecking activities of the bourgeois nationalists," there was a higher percentage of failures in the courses on Russian language and literature than in any other subject.[85] In the first place, not enough time was being alotted to the study of Russian. Secondly, there was a dearth of text-books and of Russian literature in the school libraries: even such works as Gorki's *Mother*, Tolstoi's *War and Peace*, Goncharov's *Oblomov* and the collected works of Lenin were to be found only in Ukrainian translations. Thirdly, the Commissariat had not devoted sufficient attention to methods of teaching Russian and had failed to provide methodological programs for the guidance of teachers. Finally, the knowledge of Russian possessed by the teachers themselves was entirely inadequate; even the graduates of the pedagogical institutes did not know the language well enough to teach it. Since, the critics argued, the pupils themselves were strongly inclined to study Russian, the Commissariat should provide more thorough preparation of teachers, assign more time for this subject, provide more text-books and more Russian literature.

As a result of these criticisms the re-organized Commissariat provided new programs, several of which are in the hands of the author, and it increased the time allotted to the study of Russian. The number of hours specified for the study of languages during the entire period of attendance in the various types of schools, according to the

[84] *Visti*, Aug. 23, 1933.

[85] *Za Kommunističeskoe Prosveščenie* (organ of the commissariats of education of the union republics), May 16, 1937; *Učitelskaia Gazeta* (organ of the commissariats of education of the union republics), Feb. 27, 1938, Mar. 19, 1938, Mar. 29, 1938.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

teaching plans for the school year 1939–40, is contained in the following table:[86]

I. Schools with Ukrainian as the Medium of Instruction

A. *Elementary (Four-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Ukrainian Language	1130 hours	1187 hours
Russian Language	390 hours	429 hours

B. *Middle (Ten-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Ukrainian Language	2068 hours	1994 hours
Russian Language	1131 hours	1221 hours
Foreign Language	446 hours	446 hours

II. Schools with Russian as the Medium of Instruction

A. *Elementary (Four-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Russian Language	1130 hours	1147 hours
Ukrainian Language	390 hours	429 hours

B. *Middle (Ten-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Russian Language	2150 hours	2111 hours
Ukrainian Language	955 hours	1022 hours
Foreign Language	446 hours	446 hours

III. Schools with Jewish or Moldavian as the Medium of Instruction

A. *Elementary (Four-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Jewish or Moldavian Language	993 hours	989 hours
Ukrainian Language	196 hours	252 hours
Russian Language	390 hours	429 hours

B. *Middle (Ten-Year) Schools*

	Urban Type	Rural Type
Jewish or Moldavian Language	1383 hours	1350 hours
Ukrainian Language	586 hours	618 hours
Russian Language	1131 hours	1221 hours
Foreign Language	446 hours	446 hours

[86] Narodni Kommissariat Osvita U.R.S.R., *Navčalni plani. počatkovoi ta serednoi školi* (Kiev, 1939) pp. 8–9, 11, 13, 15–17, 19, 21, 23. It may be noted that the plan for the rural elementary schools contained 36 more hours and for the rural middle schools 54 more hours than was assigned to the corresponding urban schools.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

In 1937 only 240 hours were allotted to the study of Russian in the Ukrainian elementary schools,[87] but by 1939–40 the time devoted to this language had increased to 390 hours in the urban type and 420 hours in the rural type of elementary school. The most important change, however, occurred in the middle schools, the form of general school gradually replacing the elementary schools. In the middle schools, as the table indicates, a larger proportion of hours for language study are assigned to Russian than in the elementary schools. The table also reveals that the study of Russian in the Ukrainian middle schools is given more time than the study of Ukrainian in the Russian middle schools. As for the schools of the smaller minorities, illustrated by the plan for the Jewish and Moldavian schools, Russian assumes greater importance than Ukrainian; and in the middle schools of these nationalities, the study of Ukrainian has a position far below Russian and only a little higher than that of foreign languages. The pupils of the smaller nationalities would encounter Ukrainian in their extra-school life more frequently than Russian, except in the large cities where Russian is still widely used in social intercourse; and if they were to know Ukrainian and Russian equally well, more time would have to be assigned to the latter. Likewise, the Russian pupils, except in the large cities, would be more familiar with Ukrainian than the Ukrainian pupils with Russian. Because the village children would hear Russian spoken less often than the city children the rural schools have more time allotted to Russian than do the urban schools. The study of foreign languages has become increasingly important since 1932; and only last November the Commissariat of Education decided that in some middle schools the study of French, English or German should begin in the third rather than the fifth grade, thereby raising the time devoted to foreign languages from 446 hours to 602 hours.[88]

Educational work among the older generation follows the direction of that among the children in the schools. A campaign to teach adults to read and write their mother tongues has met with substantial results, and the newly literate non-Russians are being encouraged to go on and study Russian as well as their native languages. This fostering of bi-lingualism is accompanied by an attempt on the part of the government to make the population in the Ukraine multi-cultured. Increased attention is being given to popularizing the literature and music of the Russians and of other nationalities both with and without the Soviet Union; and the Russian cinema and radio are —

[87] *Za Kommunističeskoe Prosvešchenie*, May 14, 1937.
[88] *Zbirnik Nakaziv . . .*, 1940, sec. 336, pp. 8–9.

Everything in West Ukraine is education work.

462 The woman, too, is brought up in order to play her
512 part properly within the family: she must see
515 to it that everyone eats from his own plate, that everyone sleeps in his own bed - not eight on a wide chest -, that clothing is taken off at night and that shirts are changed; airing the rooms is not to be forgotten, and it is unhealthy for children not to get out of the house a single time the whole winter long. Fresh air does no harm. But where to get the shoes and warm clothes for the little ones?

575 A further, very important society was the
871 "Ridna /96/ Shkola" ("National School"). It closed the worst gaps which the Poles had hewn into the Ukrainian school system. There were 3662 Ukrainian public schools in Galicia when the Poles took over undivided rule. In 1937/1938 there were only 496 left. All the rest of the schools were Polonized, so that in the academic year 1937/1938 only 59,300 of over one million Ukrainian school children were able to attend purely Ukrainian schools. Among 307 state secondary schools in Poland, there were only five Ukrainian classical schools in the academic year 1936/1937. All of the 1094 state technical schools were Polish and naturally also all higher institutions of learning. The means at the disposal of the "Ridna Shkola" - needless to say - were not by any means adequate to teach all Ukrainian children their mother tongue. Nevertheless, by means of the savings of its 104,000 members, it was able to maintain 540 kindergartens, 33 public schools, 12 classical schools, 11 colleges, 16 schools for specialists and professionals and 4 boarding schools. (53) The

53. Taken from the respective annual reports of the West Ukrainian cooperatives and self-aid organizations.

tension between Poland and the Ukraine in the

575 first half of 1939 threatened the educational
891 work of the "Ridna Shkola" just as it did that of the women's society, the society of agriculturists, the "Provista" and the cooperatives.

871 The efforts of the Ukrainians to raise the level of popular education are admirable. When
873 at the beginning of their rule in Galicia the Poles deprived the Ukrainians of their few professorial chairs, the Ukrainians forthwith founded a "Secret University" which gave its lectures during 1922 and 1923 in private houses. At the end of each lecture the professors who were taken partly from universities of East Ukraine, partly from Austrian universities, announced to their listeners the time and place of their next lecture. In the end this "university" collapsed and the lecturers were arrested.

873 Two years after the enactment of the Ukrain-
178 ian law of autonomy of 1922 a Ukrainian university was supposed to have been founded - but in the summer of 1939 there was not yet a single Ukrainian professorial chair. In Lwów a Polish professor lectured on Ukrainian literature in the
241 Polish language, in /Facing page 96/ /Map VII: Agricultural Zones Under Cultivation. In the wooded zones of the north rye, oats and potatoes predominate. In the northern zones of steppes, wheat and sugar beets are added (winter wheat in the west and summer wheat in the east). A third zone on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov and in the foreland of the Caucasus produces wheat, corn and barley. Adjoining this toward the west there is a corn-growing zone (with wheat in the north and barley in the south), whereas toward the northeast there is a zone extending to the middle part of the Volga with summer wheat and rye. Around the Caspian Sea is the pasture area of desert steppes, in the mountains, woodland and grasslands with some barley cultivation. The cultivation of cotton which has been recently undertaken along the coasts of the Black Sea and

642 inasmuch as the entire governmental hierarchy
645 from the village council /soviet/to the head of the state is merely a body of sheriffs whose duty is to see that the orders from Moscow are carried out.

000 In place of the nationalization of non-Russian peoples, which was given up in 1930, there have come up since 1936 the slogans about the "common socialistic fatherland", the "great Soviet people", the "love of the Soviet homeland". Besides that, the theory of the Russian people as the "leading people of the Revolution" is being quite systematically disseminated. The chauvinism of Great Russia which Stalin so mercilessly exposed to shame at the Party Congress of 1930 bids fair /123/ to recapturing for the Great Russian people the same position it had at the time of the White Czars.

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•871 Since Ukrainization was discontinued,[1] the education of Ukrainian youth goes on strictly according to the principles of the Marx-Lenin doctrine. Woe to the educator against whom it can be proved that he is departing from this course. Thousands of scholars and pedagogues had to give up their lives because of such mistakes.

The basic type of school in Soviet Ukraine, just as throughout the Soviet realm, is the "seven-grade work school" which roughly corresponds to an elementary school. Attendance in the four lower grades is obligatory, in the three higher ones, voluntary. The young Ukrainian, after he has graduated from the work school, may enter the "professional school" (a sort of technical school) or the "workers' school" for factory apprentices. The adult worker may enroll as auditor in the "workers' academy". There are also "Party schools", such as the "Pan-Ukrainian Institute for Communist Education", and, in place

1 [At the 16th All-Union Communist Party Congress of the Soviet Union in June 1930- Analyst]

871 of the universities which were for a long time forbidden, the "technical institutes" and the more advanced type of these, the "institutes for popular education". In recent times universities have again been revived.

In this connection it may be said that the obligation to attend elementary school begins at the age of eight and ends at the age of twelve. Two-thirds of the elementary pupils leave school before their four years are up. The subjects of instruction of the first few grades of the workers' school include, among other things: 1. Lenin - revolutionary, Communist, protector of workers and peasants; his death, short biography. 2. The Czar and the workers in the year 1905. 3. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. (68) - The "professional schools" are regular

68. Siropolko: The General Education in the Soviet Union, page 40.

schools for fifteen- and eighteen-year-olds, corresponding somewhat to our German agricultural and business schools. The "workers' schools", on the other hand, are attended only at certain hours by factory apprentices. /124/ The "workers' academies" are somewhat like the former German people's universities. The course of study lasts four years; it entitles the graduate to register in universities without having to take any kind of entrance examinations. The Party schools train agitators and propagandists; the technical schools and institutes train engineers, chemists and specialists in various fields in a three-year, and in some cases a four- and five-year course of study. While the process of Ukrainization was [563] going on in 1928, there were among all university students in the Ukraine 15.8% Russians, 23% Jews, 56% Ukrainians and the rest students of other nationalities. (69) In 1933 and 1934 universities

69. Siropolko: The General Education in the Soviet Union, page 98.

87/ were established in Kiyev, Khar'kov, Odessa and Dnepropetrovsk.

No research is being carried on either in the institutes or the technical schools or the universities; they are all purely teaching institutions. There are special institutes, so-called research chairs, for research which can be carried on only within the framework of historical materialism. "The researcher is advised to limit his activity to collecting and systematizing material and to avoid drawing conclusions." (70) Since

70. Zalozieckij: Ibid., page 31.

there is only one publisher, the state, scientists often have difficulty publishing their works at all. Thus they often have no choice but to have individual studies lithographed and published in a collected edition of 50 to 100 copies. The students for their part have other worries: they live mostly in dormitories, usually very poorly. To a large extent they also lack the necessary educational equipment.

177/ 197/ The Russianization of the Ukrainian language is part of the nationality fight between Russians and Ukrainians. Forgotten is the time when the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the year 1905 emphatically pointed out that the Russian and the Ukrainian language were separate languages. According to the opinion expressed at that time, the Russian literary language should not be imposed upon the Ukrainians, since they have at their disposal a "completely /125/ developed literary language of their own". In 1933 the State Publishing House of Moscow issued textbooks for Ukrainian schools in the new "unified" language. "Unification" means reintroduction of numerous Russian words with Ukrainian endings; it also means the use of Russian phrases which are completely foreign to the Ukrainian language. If a teacher should object to this corruption of the mother tongue of his pupils or not use it, there would be

[Ukrainian Constitution as of Nov. 21, 1949]

695 Art. 91. In all courts of the Ukrainian SSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to be defended by counsel.

693 Art. 92. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 93. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of the law by all Ministries and institutions subordinated to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Ukrainian SSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 94. The Procurator of the Ukrainian SSR is appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 95. Regional procurators are appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 96. Area, district and city procurators are appointed by the Procurator of the Ukrainian SSR, subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR, for a term of five years.

Art. 97. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

Chapter VIII. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

641 461 Art. 98. Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 99. Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

641 657 Art. 100. Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

● 871 641 Art. 101. Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by the system of State stipends to students who have distinguished themselves in higher educational establishments; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

728 The progress in construction and rehabilitation which has taken place
178 since the incorporation of this region into the Ukraine was revealed at a meeting of the Soviet of Nationalities on October 16, 1946, when the representative of the Transcarpathian Ukraine summed up the achievements in 1946. Nearly 300 enterprises had been restored, and nine machine and tractor stations had been set up to assist the peasants in working
[212 the fields. Much had been done in 1946 to abolish illiteracy; there
871] were opened over 100 schools, including 75 elementary, seven technical, 27 secondary, four music schools for children, and one school for surgeons' assistants and midwives.

433 At the end of December it was stated that 35 new factories had started functioning in the Transcarpathian Region in 1946[1]. Moreover, as compared with 1945 when there was not a single coal mine, 8 mines were working in 1946. There had also been definite progress in building up consumer goods industries. A clothing and a shoe factory had begun working in Vinogradov, and a knitted goods mill in Mukachevo. Some 200 light industries have been opened in various parts of the region.

Population of the Ukraine

162 The Ukraine is inhabited largely by Ukrainians, and also by Russians, Jews, and Poles. Most of the population is literate, and in 1939 there were many technical and vocational schools, as well as scientific research institutes and about 40,000 libraries.

At the census of January 17, 1939 the Ukrainian S.S.R. had 30,960,221 inhabitants; an increase of 6.6 per cent. as compared with December 1926. The greatest increase had occurred in the towns, largely as a result of the migration of country people to new industries. Thus from 1926 to 1939 the urban population more than doubled (5,373,553 to 11,195,620) while the number of rural inhabitants decreased by 16½ per cent. (23,669,381 to 19,764,601).

000 The same was true for the entire Soviet Union. From 147,027,915 in December 1926, its total population increased by 15.9 per cent. to 170,467,186 in January 1939, the urban population having grown from 26.3 million to 55.9 millions; and the rural population having fallen from 120.7 million to 114.5 million.

162 The principal cities of the Ukraine with their population on
[361] January 17, 1939, are Kiev, the capital (population, 846,293), Kharkov, capital of the Ukraine before 1934 (833,432), the part of Odessa on the Black Sea (604,223), Dniepropetrovsk on the Dnieper River (500,662), Stalino, industrial centre of the Donets Basin (462,395), and Nikolayev (167,108).

In January 1939 the urban population of the Ukraine was 36.2 per

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1 Soviet Monitor, London, December 29, 1946.

744 164 146 Europe; and many people used to die every year from tuberculosis and other chest complaints. Severe epidemics—typhoid and dysentry—used to ravage the country every year; inadequate regulation of rivers and stagnant waters gave rise to malaria; undernourishment of large sections of the population was responsible for sporadic pellagra. Venereal diseases were a curse owing to lack of medical attention and of appropriate legislation.

744 185 This enormous task was tackled with commendable vigour by the authorities of the Republic. In a country which used to have very few doctors, a proper medical service was soon organised; up-to-date hospitals and children's homes were built; Red Cross stations and other hygiene and welfare institutions, set up in many parts of Ruthenia, strove to prevent and combat disease. This systematic effort resulted in a substantial reduction of mortality, while the draining of marshlands and the regulation of streams and ponds considerably checked epidemics.

185 871 Realising that ignorance is the root of many social evils, the State regarded the raising of the standard of education in Ruthenia as one of its foremost tasks. The achievements in this field were perhaps the most striking. A country, which in 1918 had not more than eighteen elementary schools where children were only partly taught in Ruthenian, possessed 520 Ruthenian schools two years later; and after fifteen years of independence this small country in the Carpathians could boast 1,079 schools of various kinds—elementary, upper, secondary, technical and special schools. The magnitude of this achievement becomes evident when it is borne in mind that it was necessary to educate the requisite number of Ruthenian teachers from among the rising generation.

871 212 185 517 Thanks to these efforts illiteracy among the younger people has become rare. Those Ruthenians who according to the last census of 1930 were still unable to read and write were largely middle-aged or old people. But even among them illiteracy has been considerably reduced because evening schools for adults were opened wherever possible. The people of Ruthenia proved to be keen pupils. Within a few years the neglected country had a promising intelligentsia—administrative workers, teachers, journalists, writers, doctors, engineers, composers, artists and scientists. In the thirties more than eighty periodicals, among them ten dailies, appeared in Ruthenia, and the production of books grew from year to year. The innate aptitude for arts and crafts was given a chance of development when a special art school was established in Užhorod, and musical talent, too, received much encouragement. As many as 7.7 per cent of all musical compositions and songs broadcast by Czechoslovak radio stations were the work of Ruthenian musicians.

000 Economic development was essential to a country where bread used